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Tirana Signs Partnership for Peace Program

LD2501222295 Tirana Radio Tirana in English 1900 GMT 25 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Albania became today the 10th country that signed the individual agreement of cooperation with NATO under the program Partnership for Peace. NATO Secretary General Willy Claes greeted the individual program of partnership between Albania and NATO as a very important step toward establishment of stability in the Balkan region. The alliance will support democratic and economic reforms in the region. Albanian Vice Foreign Minister Arian Starova said that this agreement was a step forward in the integration process of Albania into modern structures. He said the final aim of Albania is its full integration in the European world and full membership into NATO. Albania considers Partnership for Peace as a step toward full membership into NATO, the Albanian vice- foreign minister pointed out.

U.S. Balkan Policy 'Serves Peace, Stability'

AU2701163995 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 26 Jan 95 pp 1, 3

[Commentary by Lulzim Cota: "U.S. Policy in the Balkan Whirlpool"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Balkans remains one of the hotspots in Europe, and has two points, one in the north and the other in the south. In the one place there is war, while in the other there are unpleasant and undesirable frictions at this turn of the century. Recently U.S. policy in this Balkan whirlpool has been seen to come to life. Regarding the conflict in the north, in Bosnia, thanks to the intervention of U.S. diplomacy, the war between the two Bosnian sides, Muslims and Croats, was halted and an agreement for the Croatian-Muslim federation was reached, with open possibilities for Bosnian Serbs to join it, or a confederation with Croatia. With his mission, Carter ensured a sort of continuation of negotiations between the contact group and the Bosnian Serbs. In the meantime, U.S. policy regarding Kosovo's and Macedonia's [Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia - FYROM] relations with Serbia has been explicit and firm. It was made clear to Belgrade that a spread of the conflict southwards, toward Kosovo and Macedonia would not be tolerated. That is why there are around 500 U.S. troops in the latter country as part of the UN peace-keeping force in a mission to prevent the conflict spreading to the south. In the meantime, the new military links of the United States and NATO with Albania, and the repeated statements of U.S. officials, including Defense Secretary William Perry in Tirana, that the United States is interested in Albania's stability are confirmation of the fact that Washington will not tolerate the spread of Serbian aggression to the south, toward Albania. A concrete step in this respect can be seen in the joint military manoeuvres "SAREX 95" in the Adriatic, in which Britain, Italy, and Germany are taking part.

In the meantime, Washington has undertaken a difficult mission to unblock the Tirana-Athens, Skopje-Athens, and Ankara-Athens frozen relations. A U.S. official, Nemitz, has been specially appointed to look for ways to unblock the relations between these southern Balkan centers. A short time ago, Assistant Secretary of State Richard Holbrooke visited these Balkan centers on a fact-finding mission. His visit was followed by an interview that the U.S. President Clinton gave to the Greek press, in which he urged Greece to enter an unconditional dialogue with Albania. "My belief is," President Clinton said, "that it is in the interest of Greece to see a more stabilized and economically more developed Balkan region." The endorsement of EU aid to Albania and the unconditional participation in negotiations with the Albanian Government could help a lot in this respect. "The key to better relations between Tirana and Athens can be found in cooperation and not in isolation," Clinton suggested in his interview for the Greek press, in which he also gave its due to the Albanian side regarding the conviction of the five "Omonia" leaders, when saying: "I am interested in securing a guarantee that the five will be treated with justice and that the legal procedures will comply with international standards. I have expressed my position on this issue to President Berisha." This is the position that Richard Holbrooke must have presented two weeks ago to the Albanian authorities.

It is evident that Clinton's interview has not fallen on deaf ears. Certain moves can be seen in Athens-Tirana relations. Now a reciprocal Tirana-Athens move is awaited. The Albanians, interested in this sensible and frozen point of the Albanian policy, are hoping for and would welcome an accommodation of bilateral relations.

U.S. policy is the same regarding Skopje-Athens and Ankara-Athens relations. As far as relations between Skopje and Athens are concerned, Washington is asking each side to carefully consider the other side's concerns and initiatives in order to find a lawful and balanced solution that would serve to strengthen stability and economic development in the region. More than once Washington has presented its concerns regarding the existing tension between Ankara and Athens, warning that it could give rise to possible conflicts. The United States has asked its two Balkan NATO allies to avoid provocations and implement the good faith measures agreed upon seven years ago.

The U.S. Balkan policy, within the framework of its global policy, takes into account both old and new links that might help to achieve general peace and stability in the peninsula. It is obvious that Washington has no part in the frequent statements made by south Balkan leaders serving their daily domestic policy. This is clearly shown by Clinton's latest interview, which invited these leaders to enter unconditional talks for the sake of peace and cooperation in the peninsula. Seen from this angle, the U.S. policy is a realistic policy that serves peace and stability in the region.

Serbs, FYROM Albanians Discuss Kosovo

AU2501181395 Tirana RILINDJA in Albanian 21 Jan 95 p 2

[Unattributed report: "The Serbian Opposition's Attitude Is the Same as the Government's"]

[FBIS Translated Text] During a two-day visit to Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], a Serbian opposition parliamentary delegation made up of Democratic Party deputies headed by Chairman Zoran Djindjic held meetings with representatives of the Party of Democratic Prosperity [PPD] and the Popular Democratic Party [PDP]. Deputies Sami Ibrahimi, Naser Zyberi, and Mevlan Tahiri were present at the meetings with the PPD, and Mevlani Tahiri said, "We also talked about the issue of Kosova at these meetings and about the views of the Democratic Party and Zoran Djindjic about this matter."

"The view of the Serbian opposition parliamentary delegation was that there are areas in the former Yugoslavia where the situation is much more tense than in Kosova and that the issue of Kosova has still not come onto the agenda. They agreed with the view that the situation is serious in Kosova, where the Serbs are not happy either. The Albanians in Kosova must take the first step in order to overcome this situation and take part in the parliamentary elections in Serbia and in the so-called Yugoslavia." Tahiri added that the PPD delegation agreed with the Democratic Party's delegation that the situation in Kosova is unnatural, but expressed the PPD's view that the will of the Albanian people of Kosova for an independent Kosova, as expressed in the referendum, must be respected.

The PPD delegation stressed that no parallels can be drawn between the Albanians of Macedonia and those of Kosova, and emphasized that the side with power in his hands is responsible for the situation that has arisen. The delegation also informed the Serbian delegation that, despite our wish to work within the framework of the system in Macedonia, we are not content with the results achieved from this cooperation. Mevlan Tahiri said that the members of the Serbian parliamentary opposition reported at this meeting that they have formed a commission that will produce a document offering a solution for Kosova, once the conflicts in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia are solved.

Meanwhile, the Serbian deputies also discussed the issue of Kosova and the Democratic Party's attitude to the knot of Kosova at their meeting with a PDP delegation, at which Deputies Mersel Bilali, Zeqir Kadriu, and PDP Secretary Bedredin Ibrahimi were present. Although they expressed dissatisfaction with the policies of the Milosevic regime, Zeqir Kadriu said, the members of the Serbian opposition viewed the solution to the problem of Kosova within the framework of Serbia, rejecting the option of the Albanians of Kosova for self-determination. They also expressed the view that, if they come to power, they would make a commitment to maximum autonomy for the Albanians, an idea the PDP delegation rejected as an obsolete variant.

Supreme Court President Holds News Conference

AU2601211295 Tirana POPULLI PO in Albanian 15 Jan 95 p 2

[Article by Bardhi Sejdarasi: "News Conference of the chairman of the Supreme Court: The Animosity Against the Chairman of the Supreme Court Is a Political Struggle in the Enver Hoxha Style"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Yesterday afternoon, a news conference by the chairman of the Supreme Court of Albania, Mr. Zef Brozi, took place with the broad participation of journalists from the European Community, from the United States, and numerous correspondents of the Albanian Radio-Television.

"I would like to make a final assessment of the course of events," were the words with which the chairman of the Supreme Court addressed the journalists, not forgetting to thank all the press organs for the coverage they had dedicated over the last several days to the much commented request by the Prosecutor General to the parliament to annul Mr. Brozi's immunity as a deputy.

Mr. Brozi described what is being done against him as a "struggle," explaining that it had started "ever since I refused to make compromises at the expense of justice and receive orders from others. Efforts to dismiss Mr. Brozi," added the chairman, "or to force him to submit his resignation started even before the referendum, but they were intensified in a most despicable and immoral fashion after 6 November."

Afterwards, Brozi stated further to the journalists that "secret consultations have been made, in order to label my proposals for some new judges of the Supreme Court as a breach of the constitution, even though these proposals had been sent to the president. Many state organs have been mobilized in investigating my personal life and to encourage citizens to complain against me. For several months they have been monitoring my telephone calls, which is a flagrant violation of the constitutional law on the privacy of correspondence, even as an ordinary citizen. The state propaganda is heavily engaged in using every possible means against Zef Brozi."

The chairman of the Supreme Court condemned a declaration recently broadcast by the television and added: "I would have praised the attitude of the six judges of the Supreme Court against me if it had not originated from some villas in Tirana's outskirts."

At this moment in his interview, Chairman Brozi took the opportunity to call on Albanian President Berisha "to be a real expression of his constitutional position as a representative of the people's unity, and not a contributor to splitting."

Brozi did not mention names, even when he called on those who are playing a dishonest game against him not to fall prey to the wrath of certain people in power. "I believe in the free and unmanipulated vote of the deputies in parliament," Brozi hinted, expressing his opinion that "on 28 December, the deputies demonstrated their independence from the dictate." Here again, Brozi did not mention the origin of what he called the "dictate to the deputies!"

Explaining further, the chairman of the Supreme Court stated that "the present animosity against the chairman of the Supreme Court is a political struggle in the Enver Hoxha style, as is proven more and more each passing day. It is the prosecutor who signs," Brozi said, "but all of us must know that there are some other people who have the power to give orders and contribute to his signatures." Brozi was very tough when stating: "Poor are they who succumb to political ups and downs, lucky are they who do not become obedient servants of politics."

Brozi told the journalists that he was "left in a ditch," and his further comment, "We are wrong in saying that Albanians are people of faith, because we Albanians are the most unfaithful people, and my everyday work has convinced me of that," caused hilarity.

The chairman of the Supreme Court gave rather short answers to the many questions put to him, never mentioning names, and when asked whether he was going to sue the Prosecutor General, who had accused him of setting free a Greek drug trafficker, he answered: "Poor Albania, what a prosecutor it has!" Other questions were related to well-known issues like "Nano," "Omonia" files, and today's corruption, on which he had given his opinions earlier, leaving these issues to be solved by justice and time.

This is all that Brozi said in his news conference. There are still other things that he would and should say before the deputies in the parliament, and he even has to wait and see what the Prosecutor General is going to say against him. Brozi concluded by saying: "I am not worried at all in the face of these accusations, because I believe in the truth!" However, it remains to be seen whether those who are accusing him are not upset, either!

Appeal for Independence of Judiciary Seen

AU2501131195 Tirana GAZETA SHQIPTARE in Albanian 11 Jan 95

[Article by a.m.: "The Association of Judges: 'Procedures Against Chairman Brozi Are Wrong'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Tirana—The Association of Judges of Albania is speaking out in favor of Brozi. In a presidency meeting, convened last Monday, there was a discussion of the latest events that have engulfed the Chairman of The Supreme Court and the General Prosecutor's Office request to the Parliament to take away his parliamentary immunity. "We consider the procedural method to be wrong," Petrit Plloci, president of this association, stated in a declaration.

The Brozi affair was discussed in the context of strengthening the role and the real independence of the juridical power in Albania. Certain cases when disciplinary measures had been taken against judges, by resorting to wrong practices and procedures, were reported in the meeting. "These practices," concludes the declaration, "directly affect the independence of the judicial powers and create uncertainties to the courts in rendering justice. We appeal to public opinion to support us in achieving the real independence of the judicial powers."

Opposition Urged to Serbian Kosovo 'Colonization'

AU2601172195 Tirana RILINDJA in Albanian 25 Jan 95 p 2

[Commentary by Rrustem Rugova: "Colonization to Order"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The history of colonies is tragic in many ways. As long as the empires and givers of orders survived, colonists lived "in peace" with the conquered local inhabitants. All the dimensions of this tragedy should be understood both by the new arrivals and by the local inhabitants, in connection with the most recent edict issued by Radivoje Kontic's federal government of self-styled Yugoslavia. According to this edict, at least as far as the Serbian media report, it is planned to resettle 100,000 Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosova by 1998. The scheme involves the free grant of building lots, 40-year loans for house construction, and arable land for farmers. It is said that this year alone the federal government will grant more than 4 million dinars from its budget, and that other state institutions and other Serbian public capital will be committed to this operation. The final aim, it is said, is to change the ethnic structure of Kosova.

Current statistics indicate that Serbs and Montenegrins make up no more than 8 percent of the population of Kosova. If we suppose that Kontic's plan is carried out 100 percent, these measures and methods cannot increase the proportion of Serbs and Montenegrins by more than 4 or 5 percent even by 1998. This means that the new colonists and their supporters and backers will remain a minority. The feeling of being in a minority and of changing one's land has always, in traditional Balkan psychology, involved a complex kind of tragedy. It is worth mentioning that during the "mass" migrations of Serbs and Montenegrins during the time of the "autonomist" and of the separatist "domination" in Kosova between 1970 and 1981, it was these very Serbian and Montenegrin colonists who were settled in Kosova during the time of the king that mostly left.

The present wielders of Serbian-imposed power in Kosova no doubt know this. Again according to Serbian statistics, about 30,000 Serbs have come here during the last three of four years as servicemen, policemen, financial policemen, or "refugees." They do not think of the morrow, but only of plundering, murdering, and abusing the defenseless and empty-handed population, and of living under the illusion of a nice "weekend" in Kosova. If we set aside emotions of this kind, and tackle the real colonial mentality of current Serbian state policy, which aims to occupy territories that have never been Serbian, we come across problems of international law. According to international justice in modern times, since the Congress of Berlin, i.e. including Versailles, Yalta, and the documents of communist Yugoslavia, Kosova has its historical continuity as an entity and has been treated as a self-sufficient political and administrative whole, whether as a vilayet [Ottoman administrative unit] or with autonomous status. It created itself as an entity with this same people who now want their freedom and independent, and without those who are not attempting to truncate this freedom and independence by all possible means.

The Kosovars declared what they wanted in the program of the League of Prizren [1878], the Resolution of Bujan [1944], and the referendum of 1992 for the independence of Kosova and its indisputable right to self-determination, including reunification.

There cannot even be the slightest political, let alone academic dilemma, over to whom Kosova will belong. However, one is surprised at the Albanians' clumsy political response to the plans that have now been under way for several years for the "quiet ethnic cleansing" of Kosova. Instead of a comprehensive offensive employing every argument against the most perfidious colonization in Europe's modern history, it seems clear that the Albanians' political representatives and even their academics have remained content to treat this problem at an emotional level. We exclude here those who see a solution of the problem of Kosova in new federations or confederations of some kind, with the return of the Albanians "to the system of the present or future Yugoslavia." It is a question of a more organized and politically sensitive opposition in order to first of all prevent the flight of Albanians from Kosova and then to create a climate of opinion at home and abroad against the concrete Serbian plans for the colonization or, as they put it, recolonization of Kosova.

Berisha Confers With Officials About Media

LD2601184195 Tirana Radio Tirana in English 1700 GMT 26 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] A consultative meeting on problems of radio television and the Albanian Telegraphic Agency was held Wednesday on the initiative of Albanian President Sali Berisha. The idea for a public radio television was discussed at the meeting. The meeting was also attended by intellectuals from the field of art, culture, and journalism, and representatives of audible media.

President Berisha emphasized the need for an independent media. He also focused most on the idea for a public radio television and Albanian Telegraphic Agency with an independent status. This idea was embraced by all the participants who then made some suggestions in regard to them.

I will work persistently until these ideas become concrete, said the Albanian president, adding that Albania will have its private radio television station soon.

Radioactivity Detectors for Customs Posts

95P20385A Tirana RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE in Albanian 15 Dec 94 p 3

[Unattributed article: "Albania Will Have a Radioactivity Barrier"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Jovan Zoto, deputy director of the Nuclear Physics Institute has confirmed that there have so far been no cases of trafficking in radioactive substances in Albania. In anticipation of such a danger, however, the institute has proposed a project for setting up a strong barrier to trafficking in radioactive substances.

According to Dr. Agim Minxhozi, the person who devised the project, the aim is to place testing devices at all customs points to detect the presence of radioactive materials and, in the second step, such materials would be thoroughly examined by specialists. The World Bank has been chosen to fund the project.

In the opinion of the specialists, the implementation of this project will keep the territory of Albania from being a channel for dangerous trafficking in radioactive substances.

Opposition Parliamentary Groups To Cooperate

AU2601182095 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 18 Jan 95 pp 1-2

[Text of a resolution of the National Coordinating Council of the SDS, dated 17 January 1995]

[FBIS Translated Text] The National Coordinating Council of the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces], at its meeting on 17 January 1995, decided that, in their relations with the opposition parties and coalitions represented in parliament, the SDS and its parliamentary group would observe the following principles:

1. The SDS and its parliamentary group will cooperate with the leaderships of the parties and coalitions and their parliamentary groups that are in opposition in the National Assembly on the basis of mutual respect and regard, with the aim of effectively opposing the government and legislation of the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] and its coalition in cases where they run counter to democratic processes, are aimed at re-Communization and/or at halting economic reform, or are directed against the country's national interests.

2. In keeping with the above, the leaderships of the SDS National Coordinating Council and parliamentary group may coordinate in advance SDS opposition actions and positions with the opposition parties and coalitions represented in parliament as regards the legislative work of the National Assembly and other questions of mutual interest.

3. The SDS may nominate and support mayoral candidates in local elections jointly with the opposition parties and coalitions represented in parliament, bearing in mind the following:

—the SDS program

—mutual claims

—specific local conditions

—the results of the 18 December 1994 elections.

4. In observing the conditions of paragraph 3 above, local SDS structures and SDS members among local authorities will cooperate with the representatives of the opposition parties and coalitions represented in parliament in the exercise of their duties.

5. The SDS, jointly with the other opposition parties and coalitions represented in parliament, will defend from political persecution and dismissal both its own supporters and those of the other parties, as well as independent, non-party experts in the state and municipal administrations and in the public economic and financial spheres.

5. The signing of political agreements on the basis of these principles is done with the specific authorization of the National Coordinating Council.

Sokolov Discusses SDS, Election Failure

AU2601173195 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 20 Jan 95 p 9

[Interview with SDS parliamentary group leader Yordan Sokolov by Valeriya Veleva; place and date not given: "The Current SDS Parliamentary Group Is Better Than the Previous One"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Veleva] Do you think the SDS parliamentary group may decide to walk out of parliament or declare a total boycott of the sessions of the National Assembly?

[Sokolov] We walked out of one session when we saw that there was no sense in our staying in the hall, but I would not say that we will now decide to boycott the National Assembly totally. However, I would not exclude this being our reaction if, during the voting on certain points on the agenda, we see that the voting is pointless.

[Veleva] Will there be any expulsions, slaps in the face, or broken spectacles in this parliament?

[Sokolov] No, I put my faith in our unity and professionalism. I can certainly say that in its composition, the present SDS parliamentary group is better than the previous one.

[Veleva] How will you bridge the trust gap between you on the one side and the People's Union and the DPS [Rights and Freedoms Movement] on the other, so that you can form a united opposition? Don't you think it necessary to pass through some kind of cleansing process so that they can accept you with clean faces?

[Sokolov] No, I do not accept this assertion at all. They may well not have confidence in us, but there is no reason for this. Rather, I would say that it is we who have good reason not to trust certain representatives of these parliamentary groups. It is not incidental that in our "principles" for cooperation with the opposition groups, we set a condition for cooperating with the parliamentary opposition groups in balloting. A parliamentary group that is not part of the majority but always votes with it obviously cannot be in the opposition. Such behavior would cause us to hold back from cooperating with this parliamentary group. However, in some votes, [People's Union cochairman] Savov, for example, always asks us how we will vote, and we have also on occasion asked them how they will vote. We can also come to an arrangement with the DPS. If we move toward cooperation, personal relationships should be put into the background.

[Veleva] Will the SDS insist on being the leader?

[Sokolov] I think this is natural. When one is talking about a parliamentary opposition, the strength of a political party or coalition is, by and large, a deciding factor. It is proper for the strongest party to lead the others. In parliament, the correlation of forces is such that the other three opposition forces have fewer total members than we have.

[Veleva] Are you personally interested in why the SDS lost the elections?

[Sokolov] The reasons are many. First, one must consider all the struggles that developed within the SDS, which our supporters regarded in a bad light, although they were mostly one-sided. Things were represented as if the National Coordinating Council was always wanting to get rid of people, expel them—yet in most cases, the National Coordinating Council was forced to take such action. A political force that is in a coalition cannot constantly say things and work against the coalition. The honorable thing to have done once this happened would have been for the political force in question to leave of its own volition.

The second, extremely important reason, is the wrong resolution by the SDS Sixth National Conference to expel persons who were formerly [Bulgarian Communist] Party members. This increased the BSP's votes. Many people who broke with the BSP [as published] after 10 November 1989 rejoined its ranks. They joined us in all sincerity, yet we rejected them in an offensive manner. We ourselves forced them to go back to where they came from. This was a provocative step that shrank our electorate.

A further very important reason lies with the Bulgarian people. I do not want to speak against the Bulgarian people as such, but in these past 45 years the Bulgarian people have changed much in a negative sense. They have become a minimalist nation, seeking only a quiet life. This is harmful for a nation that wants to develop and achieve something. We were simply cast into a morass in which we were all equal. The SDS tried to stir up this morass so that people could extricate themselves. This was not to the liking of many people simply because it disturbed their tranquillity.

[Veleva] Excuse me, but do you not feel awkward in blaming the Bulgarian people for your own failure? Aleko Konstantinov [famous writer] once said: Before the people, one can only doff one's cap. Why, for example, do you not mention the coercive, confrontational electoral campaign that the SDS waged?

[Sokolov] No, that was not the reason. Certainly, we made mistakes, but our election campaign was neither coercive nor confrontational. Look here: It is the BSP who brought society into confrontation, notwithstanding the demagogic stories about national consensus and national reconciliation.

The truth is that the BSP possesses a skillful and powerful propaganda machine, and the mass media are certainly in its hands. They create a climate of public opinion that influences many people. It is for this very reason that all of us bear some marks from the old regime. We have all been damaged. We were accustomed not to think. For many people, it is more comfortable not to think even now; let someone else do the thinking and make the decisions for them. [passage omitted]

Party Leaders Doubt Meciar's Budapest Promises

LD2601130195 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1000 GMT 26 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The heads of Slovakia's Hungarian parties expressed doubt over the future realization of promises made by the Slovak prime minister in Budapest.

Coexistence Chairman Miklos Duray does not consider it likely that the basic treaty will be concluded by 21 March. Neither does he believe that the Slovaks are ready to return one-third of the Danube water flow to the old riverbed.

According to Bela Bugar, chairman of the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement, Vladimir Meciar's statements on minorities made in Pozsony [Bratislava] and in Budapest contradict each other. However, Bugar considers it reassuring that the Slovak prime minister is ready to meet with Hungarian politicians of Slovakia.

Laszlo A. Nagy, chairman of the Hungarian Civic Party, also holds a similar view. He said that, according to experiences so far, only time will show whether the Slovak prime minister's promises are kept.

Parallel to 1930's Germany Seen

LD2601205395 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 26 Jan 95

[Interview with Miklos Duray, chairman of the Hungarian ethnic party, Coexistence, by Nora Parikova; place and date not given]

[FBIS Translated Text] The prime minister was not telling the truth on 20 January when he said that the Hungarian Coalition parties were not willing to cooperate, Coexistence Chairman Miklos Duray said in Bratislava today. He told journalists about a letter on 19 January of this year in which three Hungarian parties asked Vladimir Meciar for a meeting. In connection with this, Miklos Duray also mentioned a document the Hungarian Association of the Slovak Republic [Slovak: Madarske spolecenstvo v Slovenskej republike] addressed to the governments of the Visegrad Group of states. In it, the association pointed out alleged problems connected with the government's policy statement. However, journalists were primarily interested in certain remarkable statements made by Miklos Duray during his recent visit to Hungary. Nora Parikova returns to these in her interview with the chairman of Coexistence:

[Begin Recording] [Parikova] Mr. Chairman, at the end of last week and the beginning of this week, you visited Hungary at the invitation of the speaker of the Hungarian parliament. While you were there, you gave assessments of the situation here in Slovakia, which you compared with the situation in Germany at the beginning of the 1930's, and you said that what was happening in our country was in a way the restriction of democracy and that Slovakia ought not to get any great international legitimacy.

[Duray] I must correct you: I always referred to the government of the Slovak Republic and not to the Slovak Republic itself, and I even emphasized this during individual interviews. The Slovak Government's program promises quantitative and qualitative changes to society that are not founded upon the state of the Slovak economy. It promises huge public investments, and we may recall similar huge public investments in Germany in the 1930's, when the construction of highways began, and we now have the building of a national state, which the chancellor of the Third Reich also built. We are also concerned about the creation of home guard units.

[Parikova] Mr. Chairman, in connection with the signing of the framework protocol [on rights for national minorities] scheduled for 1 February in Strasbourg, you said that it was just one of various documents, and your party colleague, Deputy Chairman Arpad Duka Zolyomi, said he felt concerned. What reasons do you have for this concern?

[Duray] The framework protocol is a document that essentially sets minimum levels and not standards. In such a complicated process, minimum levels are adopted to meet the requirements of the country that is least able to guarantee these rights. That is the reason for our concern.

[Parikova] How did Hungarian deputies evaluate current relations between Slovakia and Hungary?

[Duray] Of course we did talk about this, but primarily in the context of the need to improve these relations.

[Parikova] Did you also touch on the bilateral treaty between Hungary and Slovakia, which is under preparation?

[Duray] Of course we talked about that because it is a fundamental question. We noted that the Slovak Government has not yet discussed these issues with us, nor did the government of Mr. Jozef Moravcik, when we were members of the coalition council. We are not quite sure of the intentions of the Slovak Government. We approached both sides with a request, but, unfortunately, only the Hungarian side responded to our request and acquainted us with the part of their draft that concerns minority rights.

Hungarian Prime Minister Gyula Horn told us that their idea of the basic treaty included a section devoted to the position of minority populations, but they also envisage a second document connected with the basic treaty, the sole subject of which would be the position of minority populations. This document would go the same way as the basic treaty. In other words, they would be signed at the same time and ratified at the same time, and neither document could be changed without affecting the other. [end recording]

Meciar Plans Changes in Diplomatic Missions Abroad

AU2601134895 Bratislava SME in Slovak 23 Jan 95 pp 1-2

[Article by "jo": "The Government Plans Personnel Changes at Representative Missions"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Soporna—The government intends to invite all ambassadors and staffers at Slovak representative missions abroad to Slovakia for two weeks of consultations, Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar replied to a question from SME on whether the government was contemplating personnel changes at Slovak representative missions abroad. He added that, following an analysis of their results, they will be comprehensively evaluated, and, apparently, there will be personnel changes. The prime minister regards the work of trade missions, in particular, as insufficient because, in his words, they do not adequately implement Slovakia's proexport policy. We are considering establishing an institution to train diplomats, the prime minister announced. [passage omitted]

Largest Opposition Bloc Agrees With Meciar's Aims

AU2601193995

[FBIS Editorial Report] Bratislava SME in Slovak on 23 January on page 1 carries a 500-word TASR report entitled "National Council of the Slovak Republic Vote on Slovak Government Policy Statement," which details the results of the Slovak Parliament's 20 January vote on the Slovak Government Policy Statement, by which parliament passed a vote of confidence in Vladimir Meciar's Cabinet. According to the report, the 83 deputies who voted for the policy statement included 81 coalition deputies and two opposition deputies—L. Roman from the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] and J. Klein from the Common Choice; the 44 deputies who voted against the policy statement included 43 opposition deputies and one coalition deputy—M. Andel from the Slovak National Party; and the 11 deputies who abstained were all from the Common Choice coalition. One deputy, A. Kolesarova from the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia, did not vote, and another 11 deputies—all from opposition parties—were absent.

Bratislava SMENA in Slovak on 24 January on page 1 carries a 500-word interview with Milan Ftacnik, deputy chairman of the Party of the Democratic Left [SDL] and Common Choice deputy, by Igor Stupnan, entitled "The Slovak Republic's Orientation Is Unequivocal." In the interview, the place and date of which are not given, Ftacnik is asked to explain why, unlike the other opposition parties, Common Choice deputies did not vote against the policy statement but abstained. "Can this be understood as a certain measure of acceptance of the document on their part?" Stupnan asks. Ftacnik replies: "The position of the Common Choice Club of Deputies was unequivocal—with the exception of one deputy, J. Klein, who, in accordance with the club's statutes, announced in advance that he would support the policy statement, also because the agricultural section of the policy statement is in harmony with the program of the Farmers Movement. All deputies present representing the other three political parties making up the Common Choice [SDL, Social Democratic Party of Slovakia, and Green Party] abstained. This was an expression of the whole club's clear attitude, by means of which it wanted to express two facts: on the one hand, that many objectives contained in the policy statement are very attractive and could be endorsed by our club, but, on the other, that we did not find in it how the government intends to achieve those aims. Moreover, the specific activity of the government in the period between its appointment and the discussion of its policy statement does not arouse our trust for the time being. We are afraid that the government's deeds will depart from its words. This is why we expressed a reserved attitude, indicating that we are both in favor and against. By abstaining, we also wanted to indicate that we will wait for the new government's specific deeds."

Withheld EBRD Loan [illegible] Affect Mochovce Safety

AU2601192895

[FBIS Editorial Report] Bratislava SME PODNIKANIE, PENIAZE, TRH Supplement on 24 January on page 2 carries a 2,000-word interview with Karol Bodorik, executive of the Slovenske Elektrarne (Slovak Energy Company, SE) a.s. charged with the Mochovce nuclear power plant project, by Alica Strbava entitled "We Must Complete Mochovce." In the interview, the place and date of which are not given, Bodorik defends the Mochovce project against its critics and warns that, if the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) decides not to finance the project, the Mochovce nuclear power plant will be completed anyway but with "other partners" and, as Bodorik implies, with less money invested in the plant's safety equipment.

Speaking about the funding of the project, Bodorik says that the EBRD is to be only the "lead creditor" of the proposed 1.3 billion German marks credit because no single organization is able to provide a loan of such magnitude. He continues: "Besides the EBRD, other lenders will pool their resources to obtain the needed sum: Euroatom (one of the European Union's specialized organizations), whose resources are concentrated in the European Investment Bank (EIB), and other sponsors—Electricite de France (EDF) and Bayernwerk. More than 800 million of the 1.3 billion [German marks] are to be covered by multilateral financial organizations. The remainder will be covered by two other sponsors."

Asked about Russian participation in the project, Bodorik says: "The completion of Mochovce and its being put on stream are unthinkable without the participation of Russian organizations because the original design is Russian. The upgrading of nuclear safety and interventions in the so-called primary part—reactor, steam generators, main circulating pumps—are not possible without the participation of the original designer. We envisage participation by Russian organizations. This participation will either take a contractual form or an expanded one—that is, coupled with the provision of some credit. The Russian side's credit offer has been slashed from an originally proposed volume of $400-450 million to approximately $150 million. This offer is such that the sum does not even cover the needs of completing and putting on stream one unit. It can be used as a supplementary stone in the mosaic of the overall project. Bilateral Slovak-Russian talks have been held, as well as trilateral talks, attended also by our French partners. The sponsors are ready to incorporate the Russian part of the loan in their project. However, the Russian side has not yet confirmed the terms under which it would provide this loan. The Russian side has officially confirmed its offer of a loan of up to $150 million but it has not yet confirmed its terms—the repayment period, until when the start of the repayment could be deferred, the interest rate, and other financial specifications of the loan. For example, whether these would include a government guarantee—we suppose they would. On behalf of the Slovak side, we indicated that our partners should reckon with the inclusion of specifications in the terms of the loan such as that a part of it would be repaid by a certain volume of goods exchange and by a certain write-off from the Russian debt to the Slovak Republic. We have not closed the discussion on these terms yet."

In another part of the interview, Bodorik responds to claims by the project's critics that the Mochovce output could be replaced by alternative sources of energy. Citing a document on state energy policy, Bodorik says that, even if Slovakia managed to completely tap all of its alternative sources of energy, it would obtain a maximum of 300 megawatts, while the projected output of Mochovce is 880 megawatts. He also challenges a study by the Austrian Global 2000 environmentalist organization, according to which Slovakia's electricity consumption would amount to 19 terawatt hours (TWh) in 1994. While Bodorik concedes that, after 1989, Slovak electricity consumption declined from 25 TWh to 20 TWh, he contends that it is now growing again and that it now amounts to approximately 24 TWh, which is equivalent to electricity consumption in 1988. "As early as September, we predicted that the growth rate of consumption would exceed 2.5 percent, compared with the year before, and the growth rate in the winter period exceeds 5 percent," Bodorik says.

In conclusion, Bodorik is asked what would happen if the EBRD decided not to fund the completion of the Mochovce nuclear power plant and the upgrading of its safety equipment. He replies: "Even if the project with these lenders and sponsors is not successful, there is no other option but to complete Mochovce with other partners and under different conditions—to be candid, under conditions we could afford. As long as the first and second units of Mochovce are not on stream, it will not be possible to close the V1 nuclear power plant at Jaslovske Bohunice because it generates more than 25 percent of Slovakia's energy output. Naturally, this would involve a change in the strategic concept of energy policy."

Horn on Hungarian Minority Rights in Slovakia

LD2501221795 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1730 GMT 25 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Good evening. The Slovak-Hungarian Basic Treaty will be concluded by 20 March. We report on Vladimir Meciar's visit to Budapest. [passage omitted]

The two prime ministers, Gyula Horn and Vladimir Meciar, evaluated the intergovernmental talks as successful, which seems to be a step forward in the relations between the two countries. Ildiko Nagy was present at the press briefing that assessed the talks. [passage omitted]

[Begin Horn recording] As regards the minority issue, it was raised by the Hungarian side. We are of the view—which is based on the position taken by the Council of Europe's bodies responsible for the matter—that there are still problems in Slovakia in the sphere of implementation of the Council of Europe's position. We have raised the point that this objectionable practice should be examined. We agreed with my counterpart....[leaves sentence unfinished] They were open to this. However, they suggested that Council of Europe experts should also be involved in this examination. We agreed on this, for this is what complies with the style of political culture in Europe and the spirit of European organizations. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Various aspects of economic cooperation were also raised today. There is the prospect of a new cultural agreement, and perhaps the problem of accommodating the Hungarian Cultural Center in Bratislava might also finally be resolved.

Answering a question from a Hungarian Radio correspondent about the role of minorities in the improvement of bilateral relations, Gyula Horn said the following:

[Begin Horn recording] Naturally, they will guarantee minority rights, and the way it is done in Hungary is particularly an example for this. We apply positive discrimination vis-a-vis the minorities, and this certainly helps bilateral relations. I am of the view that none of the region's states can become a country of European standards if it does not fully guarantee minority rights. This is a fundamental requirement of principle that has also been laid down by international communities.

Another thing I would like to stress is that we consider it natural—and we also act accordingly—that there is continuous contact and dialogue with Hungarian parties and organizations of Slovakia, as happens between Slovakia and the Slovak community of Hungary. We ask their opinion, consult them, and by doing this their problems can really be solved. All this can contribute to the strengthening of bilateral relations. [end recording]

Vladimir Meciar is of the view, that minorities are primarily citizens of the country in which they live. The protection of their rights should be the aim and task of governments. If governments consider solving the problems of minorities to be their duty, these problems will not constitute a problem but a link.

Vladimir Meciar said at the end of his talks today that since the Hungarian community lives along the Hungarian border, the strengthening of the two countries' relations could at the same time also lead to the settlement of relations within the country.

Horn, Slovakia's Meciar Sign Agreements

LD2501204295 Budapest Duna TV in Hungarian 1700 GMT 25 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Announcer] Slovakia is ready to supply the water necessary to replenish the water lost in Szigetkez. For its part, the Hungarian Government will ask the National Assembly for authorization to build the bottom sill.

During their negotiation today, the Hungarian and Slovak heads of government also signed an agreement regarding the Basic Treaty, and regarding the two countries' foreign ministers' undertaking to sign the Minority Protection Convention of the Council of Europe. Here is a report on Vladimir Meciar's visit in Budapest.

[Correspondent] [Passage omitted] The Hungarian and Slovak delegations held a two-hour plenary negotiation today. The respective teams were headed by Hungarian Prime Minister Gyula Horn and Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar.

At midday Meciar was received by Arpad Goncz, president of the Republic. Following a 30-minute discussion, Goncz expressed the view that rationality had prevailed in bilateral relations and, in his opinion, the change in Hungarian-Slovak relations will soon be palpable in cultural, economic, and minority issues. Goncz stressed the honest intentions he experienced during his talk with his guest. [passage omitted]

From Hunters' Hall, where the dinner in honor of the Slovak guest was held, the two prime ministers went to the international news conference. Gyula Horn summed up the goals of today's visit.

[Begin Horn recording] [video of Horn addressing news conference] The objective was to discuss, and if possible conclude, an agreement regarding the establishing and developing good, neighborly links in Hungarian-Slovak relations. [end recording]

[Correspondent] Horn announced that an agreement in connection with the Basic Treaty was concluded. Thus, the treaty document will include the inviolability of borders, that the two countries have no territorial claims against each other, and that minority rights should be guaranteed in both countries.

[Begin Horn recording] We have set the goal of completing the signing of this Basic Treaty by 21 March, because the European Stability conference will take place on 21 March. [end recording]

[Correspondent] In Strasbourg on 1 February, the foreign ministers of the two countries will sign the Minority Protection Convention of the Council of Europe.

As regards the case of the Gabcikovo dam, this is what was said.

[Begin Horn recording] In order to soon conclude an agreement that allows a temporary compensation [kartalanitas]—in other words, eliminating the cause of damage [karelharitas] [sentence as heard]. [end recording]

[Correspondent] Thus, for ensuring Szigetkez's water supply, Hungary will receive from Slovakia 40 cubic meters of water per second through the sub-branch of the Danube, and three meters of water per second through the soakage channel. [passage omitted] In the main Danube river bed Hungary will receive 400 cubic meters of water, instead of the 250 cubic meters per second currently received.

Agreement has also been concluded that Nagykevesd and Satoraljaujhely will open border crossing stations, and surveys with a view to opening another three new border crossing stations will also start soon. The possibility of using the bridge at Esztergom for traffic will also be examined.

Prime Minister Meciar described the talks as successful. He wishes to improve cooperation as soon as possible in tourism, metallurgy, energy, information technology, trade and investment, as well as cultural matters. Proposals are being worked out for eliminating double taxation, and Meciar said he is ready for any kind of cooperation in connection with the Central European Initiative that will further the undisturbed progress of the process of European integration. [passage omitted]

Official Views Recent Attacks on UDMR

AU2501183495 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 25 Jan 95 pp 1, 9

[Interview with RMDSZ executive chairman Csaba Takacs by Ferenc Garzo and Ferenc Kepecs; place and date not given: "RMDSZ Issue Causes Disturbance in Relations"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Neither Prime Minister Gyula Horn (although the program included a meeting), nor President Arpad Goncz met with Romanian Government Secretary-General Viorel Hrebenciuc on 24 January. Journalists hold the view that the most recent attacks on the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [RMDSZ—UDMR in Romanian] are behind this. One of Romania's ministers has even held out the prospect of outlawing the organization.

Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs received the guests on 25 January. In his view, these negative tendencies can cause disturbances in our relations. RMDSZ Executive Chairman Csaba Takacs gave NEPSZAVA an interview.

In reply to our question, Andras Farago, spokesman for the president, said that the president's program had not included such a meeting.

At his news conference on 24 January, Foreign Ministry spokesman Gabor Szentivanyi said in reply to a question: The Foreign Ministry is following developments in Romania attentively. We trust that the Romanian Government's statements and actions meet European norms.

At any rate, Kovacs met the Romanian guest in his office. After the meeting, Kovacs told the press that he had emphasized to his partner that the negative tendencies that have been increasing recently do not just make the situation of Hungarians in Romania more difficult. Since the latest case was statements by a member of the government member and chairman of one of the coalition parties, and the RMDSZ has been receiving a series of attacks that threaten its existence, the negative tendencies are also causing serious problems in bilateral relations, and they damage Romania's international image.

Kovacs welcomes his partner's suggestion that a bilateral meeting with his Romanian colleague Melescanu should be held in Strasbourg on 1 February.

We asked Takacs if the fact that two extremist Romanian parties are now part of the government played a role in the attacks made by Bucharest.

[Takacs] That is precisely it. The government change brought [former president] Ceausescu's former prime minister, one of his most committed admirers, into a position of power. It is very difficult to explain this to the nation and to the world, and it made this kind of political diversion necessary. The passage that is being attacked so vehemently is part of the draft bill on national minorities that we submitted to the Romanian parliament more than a year ago. We might have understood it better had they gone at us at that time, although even then they would not really have had a reason for it.

[NEPSZAVA] You were supposed to come with Hrebenciuc to Budapest. Did you decide not to come because of the preceding events?

[Takacs] I myself should have participated in certain programs of the visit. However, when the government issued a statement that urged the banning of the RMDSZ, our organization decided that for the time being, it could not appear together with the representatives of this government.

[NEPSZAVA] What does the RMDSZ expect from Hungary, and is it satisfied with Budapest's reactions?

[Takacs] We are very sorry that a situation arose in which the Hungarian prime minister could not receive the Romanian delegation. However, we would have found it strange had he had met with the delegation of the government that has just made the most severe attack of the past five years against the RMDSZ, and whose justice minister advocates outlawing the RMDSZ. Rather than Budapest or the RMDSZ, only those forces that, following the government change, are now going to jointly exercise power in Romania are responsible for this situation. The action of the Hungarian parliamentary parties and the gesture of the Hungarian Government meets the Transylvanian Hungarian public's expectations of responsible Hungarian factors.

[NEPSZAVA] In your view, how serious is the current anti-RMDSZ campaign, and how much is it tactical and aimed at bargaining?

[Takacs] Tactical elements are always part of such actions. However, the RMDSZ's political program is not a subject for bargaining. Our autonomy efforts do not violate the constitutional framework by any means, nor are they contrary to European practice. That Romania does not yet have a law on such an issue is a different matter. However, the basic principles regarding this area were laid down in the Constitution and in Law No. 69 on public administration, not to mention the European regional charter that was recently signed by Romania and that has to come before parliament soon.

The attacks on us do not have any basis in legality and they endanger the credibility of the entire political life of Romania.

[NEPSZAVA] Do you consider the implementation of the idea of autonomy tenable in the short term? Even the Romanian parties allied with the RMDSZ do not support this idea.

[Takacs] The national minority issue was not solved overnight in Italy, Spain, or even Finland. Our successors in the RMDSZ will probably be able to conduct politics in a much more friendly environment. We however, have to do our job in this situation. The RMDSZ does not expect the Romanian opposition parties to support all its demands that they cannot yet understand, or that they cannot yet accept, in the current, exaggeratedly nationalistic and xenophobic atmosphere.

Hasty Basic Treaty Said 'Out of the Question'

AU2601202695 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 26 Jan 95 p 3

[Interview with Hungarian Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs on 25 January by "Lambert"; place not given: "Laszlo Kovacs: We Will Not Make a Hasty Job of the Basic Treaty"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Is there a danger that the failure of the visit by [Romanian Government Secretary General] Hrebenciuc will force us into a "diplomacy of success" and we will consider [Slovak Prime Minister] Vladimir Meciar's visit more successful than it will later turn out to have been? We interviewed Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs after his talks with the Romanian political figure and the Slovak prime minister.

[Kovacs] The two visits represent different categories. I do not consider Hrebenciuc's talks a failure. It is very important and useful that we had an opportunity to clearly expound upon the Hungarian position; and in connection with the domestic political situation in Romania, he gave a revealing explanation of the phenomena that are causing tensions. I feel that Bucharest, as well as Hrebenciuc, understood the signals we gave by explaining our position and by changing Hrebenciuc's program in certain places.

[MAGYAR NEMZET] How well were the opposition parties prepared for the results of the Meciar visit?

[Kovacs] When the opposition parties recently visited Bratislava at the invitation of the Hungarian groups in Slovakia, they also met with Meciar—which we did not condemn at all; in fact, we considered it natural, because this allowed the Slovak prime minister to get an honest picture of the views of the opposition parties. I do not know what they expected from Meciar's visit, but I am sure that improving Hungarian-Slovak relations is just as much in their interest as it is in that of the government parties. This is a national interest.

[MAGYAR NEMZET] What kind of diplomatic schedule is needed, if we want to sign the bilateral basic treaty by the second half of March, before the Paris conference on stability?

[Kovacs] The next bilateral expert coordination at the Foreign Ministry level will have to be held within a few days, and after this we will assess whether or not we still have serious differences of opinion. If necessary, I am prepared to meet with my Slovak colleague—and he also agrees with this. In fact, even the two prime ministers can participate in the coordination, if necessary. Thus, a strong intention to complete the basic treaty by the Paris conference in March exists on both sides.

I would like to stress that speeding up the preparations of the basic treaty cannot and will not have any impact on the document's quality or contents. The worries are unfounded that we will hastily make up a basic treaty and give concessions that we would not otherwise accept. This is out of the question.

Report Suggests Iranian Plane Carried Weapons

AU2501142295 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 25 Jan 95 pp 1,21

[Report by unidentified correspondent: "The Iranian Boeing Was Suspicious—Was the Iranian Aircraft Carrying Arms?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] According to the latest information, the Iranian Air Force Boeing 747 that made an emergency landing at Ferihegy Airport on the evening of

19 January could have been carrying military equipment. According to sources close to UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] officials in Zagreb, the Iranian military aircraft's cargo would have been examined in Zagreb at the request of UN observers, and this is probably why it returned to Teheran from Budapest.

According to information originating from diplomatic sources close to the UN peacekeeping forces, the Iranian military transport aircraft bound for Zagreb did not actually make an emergency landing at Ferihegy Airport. According to the official explanation, Zagreb was unable to receive the Boeing 747 because of bad weather. However, unlike this explanation, UN sources in Zagreb told Hungarian officials on 20 January that the weather conditions and visibility were suitable for flying; in reality, Zagreb airport refused to grant landing rights to the Iranian Boeing.

According to our information, this small "fib" increased the Hungarian authorities' interest in the Iranian military aircraft (in addition to the border guards, other services were also following the events at Ferihegy Airport with interest). Hungarian airport authorities (security services and customs and border guards) have been attentively observing cargo aircraft heading toward the Yugoslav region since the arms shipment scandal in Maribor. Therefore, customs officials at Ferihegy Airport asked the captain of the Iranian aircraft to provide a customs declaration on the goods, in accordance with the relevant Chicago agreements. The Iranian crew refused to comply with this request and the captain later informed the authorities that all the members of the 16-man crew were soldiers and that as far as they knew, they were carrying aid to Zagreb.

The Customs authorities continued to ask for the transit documents, but the negotiations ended without success late at night. Three Iranian crew members remained on board to "guard" the aircraft, while the others left for hotels. At 2 o'clock in the morning, one of the top members of the Iranian Embassy in Budapest made another attempt to obtain, through the Hungarian Foreign Ministry, a permit to take off for Zagreb. For this, however, the Hungarian authorities stuck to their demand that the transit documents be presented. They allegedly warned that they would examine the cargo.

An official who asked to remain anonymous and who knows the details of the affair told NEPSZABADSAG that the authorities concluded that they could only examine the aircraft by deploying police commandos, but they wanted to avoid any armed conflict. (In so deciding, the authorities allegedly also took into consideration the fact that Hungarian Trade Counselor Jozsef Nagy is still lying in a coma in Teheran, where he was brutally attacked recently and his wife murdered.)

According to our information, the Hungarian authorities were told by UNPROFOR officials that the Iranian aircraft was carrying military equipment. Certain UN officials would have welcomed a possible disclosure of illegal cargo by the Hungarian authorities. However, partly out of diplomatic and national security considerations and partly because Croatia does not fall under the embargo [as published], the Hungarian authorities refused to carry out this hidden request. At the same time, they called the attention of the Iranian crew to the fact that the aircraft would probably be searched in Zagreb in the presence of UN observers. At that point, the captain of the Iranian Boeing 747 asked the officials to fill up the aircraft's tanks with enough fuel to fly to Teheran.

National Radio Said Viable; Media Law Needed

LD2501222695 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 25 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The presidium of Hungarian Radio has briefed journalists about their work to date. Erzsebet Kiraly reports:

[Kiraly] Hungarian Radio is viable. Hungarian Radio Chairman Janos Sziranyi said it broke even last year. According to Sziranyi, proof of the satisfactory management is the fact that the State Audit Office did not find fault with it. [passage omitted]

Janos Sziranyi pointed out: A media law that can guarantee the viability of a public service radio is definitely necessary.

Gyoergy Magos, deputy chairman of Hungarian Radio, said that the issue of the media law is not merely political. The listener has the right to be able to listen to programs of a suitable technical standard. For this reason, the frequencies must be looked at. He added: The law will not constitute salvation, but it will be the minimum condition for halting squandering. [passage omitted]

Walesa Addresses Auschwitz Commemoration Ceremony

LD2701110495 Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish 0927 GMT 27 Jan 95

[Speech by Polish President Lech Walesa to a commemoration ceremony at the Auschwitz-Birkenau concentration camp—live]

[FBIS Translated Text] Ladies and Gentlemen: We all passed the gates of this camp while coming here. As its victims were years ago, we were also welcomed by the sign: Work Makes Free. I have always had respect for human labor. When I worked at a shipyard, I believed that men find fulfillment through work and by work. I had the same thought when I led Solidarity. I think the same thing now as I perform in the highest office in the Republic. If I did not know over which gate those words had been placed, I would have said that this is true. That work makes men free and fulfilled.

It is different here. These words were placed here as derision. Work here served a particular torment. Work was the shortest way to death here and in hundreds and thousands of camps all over the world. It was to suck the strength dry from man. As the commandant of this camp used to say: There is only one way out from here—through a chimney. Death made people free—free from cruelty, violence, and lawlessness. The road that we passed along—from the sign saying "Work Makes Free" to the block of death—is a symbolic journey. We are moving along this road with a feeling of unity and responsibility, the road of the suffering of nations and of the Jewish nation in particular.

This was not only the road experienced by millions, but it also should become a lesson to millions. Let these simple flowers be a tribute to the dead, and let this place be a permanent warning to the living.

Further Remarks

LD2701151695 Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish 1118 GMT 27 Jan 95

[Speech by Polish President Lech Walesa at Auschwitz-Birkenau ceremony commemorating the 50th anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz concentration camp—live]

[FBIS Translated Text] Former death camp prisoners, your excellencies, ladies and gentlemen! People have been killing each other since Cain and Abel. They broke the fifth commandment for various reasons. They did it out of revenge, when fighting for land and material goods, and to rule over others. But here, where we are standing now, people were killed in a deliberate and dispassionate manner as if solving a mathematical problem. Here, in the complex of camps and subcamps in Auschwitz, a factory of death operated. An industry using complicated technology was at work here and a peculiar bureaucracy functioned. A new type of criminal was created—a murderer behind a desk. A man who did not touch anyone but who was stained by the blood of thousands, hundreds of thousands, and millions. A new type of a crime was created then—genocide.

What was the purpose of this bureaucratic machine? What task was it implementing using the technology of the Third Reich, one of the most modern states in Europe at the time? What was the purpose of this factory which became a symbol of all that is worst in human nature?

All this was subordinated to the idea of the final solution. In the false belief that the death of millions of innocent people could solve any political problem. Today we know that crime and violence cannot solve anything. They can only create problems. This horrible place teaches us this great lesson. The extermination of entire nations was prepared here, of Jewish and Romany people. It was prepared here for others, mainly us Poles. Even children were killed in the name of an insane ideology.

Man was denying his humanity by killing others. Philosophers used to ask: Can one still be a philosopher after all that happened here? Can poetry still be written? Murderers wondered: Was it the cruelty—greater than that of a beast—and the desire to kill which distinguished people from animals? These are painful questions.

I have received a very sad message that none of the soldiers who liberated the camp were able to attend today's ceremony. I would like us, in our thoughts, to pay tribute to those who brought freedom here half a century ago.

This place is a symbol, but unfortunately it is not an exception. My fatherland, our continent, and the whole world is full of such gruesome places. There are many fields saturated with the blood of innocent victims. The bones of those killed rest in endless, vast areas of the world. Let this place be a symbol to all those graveyards. We owe a tribute to all victims. Let us throw the hatred out of our hearts and light candles—a sign of the presence and remembrance of all those who made their last trip along this track and all those like them throughout the world.

Krakow University Speech

LD2601121695 Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish 1000 GMT 26 Jan 95

[Speech by Polish President Lech Walesa at Jagiellonian University in Krakow—live]

[FBIS Translated Text] Ladies and gentlemen, we are here in the university where academic freedom has been cherished for over 600 years. This building witnessed dramatic events 50 years ago. The nazis deceitfully rounded up Polish professors and took them away from here. They were taken to a concentration camp. I laid flowers in front of the plaque which commemorates those events just moments ago.

The aggressors consciously hit out against what is most precious in every nation: its intellectual and spiritual power. They knew that a nation whose scientific and creative elite has been destroyed can be deprived of its capacity to resist and will be easier to annihilate. That is why books are burned first and afterwards those who write them are imprisoned. Then people are killed. That was and still is the logic of every inhuman system.

I have never agreed with that. As the leader of Solidarity I protested totalitarianism, coercion, and the trampling of human dignity. Today, as president of the Polish Republic, I am in favor of the right of all states and nations to live in freedom, of finding peaceful solutions to all conflicts and tensions, of good neighborly and peaceful relations, of respect for human rights and freedom.

I think that such behavior is the basic tenet, obligation, and duty of present and future politicians. They should guard those basic principles and shout loudly if they are threatened anywhere. This is also mainly the duty of artists, writers, and scientists, intellectual elite, and all sensitive people. They must support politicians in their efforts and actions to make universal rights win.

Goodness and justice, freedom and democracy, tolerance and respect for differences, in the name of any man and for all men! That is why speaking in this place, in Poland's oldest university, before the high Senate of the Jagiellonian University, I would like to say that the principal duty of people who live in freedom, is continuous respect for human rights and the protection of human dignity.

Do not hesitate to speak out if one of those principles or values is threatened anywhere. Thank you.

Walesa Meets With Slovakia's Kovac in Krakow

LD2601175695 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 26 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Slovak President Michal Kovac left for Poland this morning to take part in the commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the liberation of the Auschwitz concentration camp. Our colleague Peter Turcik is among the journalists accompanying the president:

[Turcik] The official program of President Michal Kovac's two- day visit began immediately after his arrival in Krakow. After being welcomed by the mayor of this former royal town and Marian Sarvatek, the Slovak ambassador to Poland, our delegation set off for the first of many bilateral talks. Michal Kovac was received by Polish President Lech Walesa at the Hotel Royal by the Wawel Castle. Polish-Slovak relations at the highest level are extremely good, as illustrated by three meetings last year, the two agreed at the beginning of their talks.

President Walesa was interested to know if the latest movement on the Slovak political scene might not bring about a change in Slovakia's foreign policy orientation. Michal Kovac replied with an unequivocal confirmation of the unchanged course of Slovak integration into European security and economic structures, pointing to three significant steps. The first is the wording of the government's policy statement, which clearly proclaims our interest in joining the European Union and the North Atlantic alliance. The second is this week's visit to Brussels by Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar, and the third the talks in Budapest between the prime ministers of Hungary and Slovakia. An important result of the Hungarian-Slovak talks will be the signing of a so-called grand interstate treaty [velka medzistatna znluva], and an agreement on the Gabcikovo hydroelectric project.

Michal Kovac openly described the events on our parliamentary scene. He described them as a clash of interests between the coalition and the opposition, but expressed his satisfaction at the agreement on Slovakia's foreign policy orientation.

At the same time, he informed his Polish partner about the visit by Pope John Paul II to Slovakia in the first three days of July, and about the provisional program for his visit to Kosice, Levoca, and Sastin.

President Lech Walesa said he was very pleased that there were no forbidden questions in Polish-Slovak relations. The two presidents then set out their views on, for example, cross-border contacts and the construction of a north-south highway. In this connection they consider unavoidable bringing the Czech Republic directly into this project.

Lech Walesa confirmed Poland's will to maintain its present orientation, and then brought up the issue of the conflict between Russia and Chechnya. He said that Poland will continue to firmly reject the settling of such conflicts through violence, regardless of where in the world they erupt. He said literally, and I quote: The Russian Federation must not stand in the way of those who are prepared to live independently. President Walesa added that the attitude of the international community toward this and other similar conflicts is proof of the importance of democratic forces on our planet.

At the end of this meeting, which lasted well beyond the time allocated and proceeded in an informal atmosphere, Michal Kovac invited Polish President Walesa to visit Slovakia. The visit should take place during the first half of this year. [passage omitted]

Assembly Commission Votes for 'Weak' Presidency

LD2601164595 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1500 GMT 26 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The National Assembly Constitutional Commission, in a secret ballot vote, has decided that parliament would remain bicameral and that the president will be a guarantor of the continuity of power. In practice this will mean that he will not have many powers, but will play a mediatory role. Stanislawa Stec reports from the Sejm building:

[Stec] Three votes decided that the Senate remains. Of the 43 deputies who voted, 40 were in favor of a weak presidential office; also, 40 deputies voted in favor of the government being appointed by parliament. [passage omitted]

Chief of Police Smolarek Resigns Again

LD2701135495 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1133 GMT 27 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 27 Jan—Chief Commandant of Police Zenon Smolarek has resigned, a PAP journalists learned today at the main police headquarters. Smolarek already resigned twice before in connection with scandals in the Poznan police; the matter caused a conflict at the highest levels of power lasting several months.

The resignation was announced on Tuesday by Internal Affairs Minister Andrzej Milczanowski, who reportedly has a new candidate for the post, but declines to reveal the name. Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak commented then, that "it would mean the opening of new problems."

The Political Advisory Committee at the Ministry of Internal Affairs will meet on Monday to deal with the issue. In August last year the Committee supported Smolarek's resignation. It was halted in October by the prime minister, because, as he said, material gathered by the prosecutor's office investigating the "Poznan affair" did not provide the grounds to bring charges against Smolarek.

The chief commandant of police is appointed and dismissed by the prime minister following a motion by the internal affairs minister and after seeking the opinion of the Internal Affairs Ministry advisers.

Pawlak Dissolves Oil Sector Restructuring Group

WS2701150495 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 27 Jan 95 p 3

[Article by Jacek Czarnecki: "Interministerial Team Recalled; Oil Sector Restructuring To Be Run by Ciech?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prime Minister Pawlak dissolved the interministerial group for oil sector restructuring, which he himself set up on 31 March 1994. The ordinance came into force on 19 January 1995 (seven days ago), but became known only yesterday. Companies representing this sector do not know anything about it as yet (officially, at least).

It is a controversial decision—the interministerial group carried out its duties very well, and presented the prime minister with a program as well as a schedule of implementation.

The prime minister received the first version of the program last October; the second version, which was only slightly changed, reached the prime minister right before the group was dissolved.

Such developments in the petroleum sector took everyone aback. The document which dissolves the interministerial group is the prime minister's ordinance No. 2, dated 19 January 1995. Despite that, on 20 January Prime Minister Pawlak met in the Office of the Council of Ministers with members of the interministerial group as well as with heads of the sector's companies, that is, refineries, Petroleum Products Center [CPN], PERN [expansion unknown], and the Polish Liquid Fuels Chamber [PIPP]. According to the participants of the meeting, there was no talk about dissolving the group; on the contrary, the prime minister reportedly expressed the opinion that the work on the program was unnecessarily drawing out and that it should be discussed by the Economic Committee of the Council of Ministers [KERM] on 23 January. [Industry] Minister Marek Pol found out about the dissolution of the group only yesterday as well.

On the very same Friday, 20 January, when Prime Minister Pawlak met with the members of the group, Zdzislaw Matkiewicz, director of the Import-Export Center for Chemicals and Chemical Equipment [CIECH], told his closest aides that "very soon a new group would be established which would be headed by CIECH and which is supposed to work hard, and the public would soon be informed about this at a news conference."

The agenda of the next KERM session (1 February) includes the petroleum sector restructuring program. Thus, discussed at the session will probably be the "alternative program," drawn up a few months ago by the new CIECH director, in line with which the restructuring of our petroleum sector would follow the model of the Spanish Repsol transformations, which we have already discussed in RZECZPOSPOLITA.

The decision of the prime minister came to representatives of the fuel sector companies as a total surprise.

PIPP Director Andrzej Szczesniak (first a long while of silence in the receiver) says: "How do you know about this? It is impossible! I must check it."

Petrochemia Plock SA: "This is the first time I have heard of it! I could feel my legs giving way under me," said Assistant Director Dariusz Krajowski-Kukiel. "I had better go see the boss." Petrochemia Plock Director Konrad Jaskola keeps calm and says: "We have heard the rumors; however, I did not think that this would turn out to be true. At any rate, we will focus on modernizing Petrochemia."

CPN Spokesperson Maria Zawislak-Magrzyk: "Are you sure?! I do not know anything about it. Perhaps the boss knows more."

Preparations for privatization of this sector have been under way for four and a half years; Polish borders will be opened to foreign competition in two years, in March 1997.

Left Alliance Rules Out Support for Walesa

LD2701134695 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1246 GMT 27 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 27 Jan—Jerzy Szmajdzinski, secretary general of the SdRP [Social Democracy of the Polish Republic], said today at a news conference that there was no possibility for the SdRP to conclude a "historic compromise" with President Lech Walesa and to support him in the presidential elections.

Szmajdzinski and Leszek Miller met journalists on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the SdRP, which falls on 29 January.

"There is no possibility that the SLD [Democratic Left Alliance] or the SdRP would put a declaration of support for Lech Walesa above their electorate's wishes," he said. He added that "of the two evils Pawlak would be a better candidate."

Szmajdzinski repeated that the best solution for the SdRP would be a joint candidate for president, together with the PSL [Polish Peasant Party]. According to SdRP Deputy Chairman Miller, this scenario would decide the result of the presidential elections as early as the first round.

Achille Lauro Trial Reveals Polish Arms Deals

WS2601151395 Warsaw GAZETA POLSKA in Polish 26 Jan 95 pp 1,3

[Report by Piotr Jakucki: "Arms Trade Secrets: Polish Generals Aided Terrorists"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Arab terrorists from the Palestine Liberation Front who kidnapped the Italian liner Achille Lauro were armed with kalashnikovs supplied from Poland.*

According to the testimony of Ahmed Bumershed, a witness in the trial of an Arab arms dealer currently underway in Spain, terrorists from Abu Nidal's group were helped by three Polish generals. According to GAZETA POLSKA sources, the men are: —General M., head of the II Board of Internal Military Services in the 1980's; —General S., heading the Central Engineering Board [CZInz] at the time; some sources say he trained future CZInz employees in the so-called unit 2000 at Hynka Street in Warsaw, supervised directly by the secret services (within operational training for the intelligence and counterintelligence); —General B., involved in the so-called machine gun scandal; formerly head of the Central Board for Combat Training at the General Staff (commander in chief of the Polish front in case of war); in the 1980's president of the Central Military Sports Club Legia in Warsaw, later sent to a diplomatic post in Cuba.

Polish support was not limited to sending arms to the terrorists. One of the military representatives told GAZETA POLSKA: "Sometime in the mid-1980's I was in the hospital at Szaserow Street in Warsaw [military hospital], where I met a Moroccan from the POLISARIO Front. He was sent to Poland for treatment after having received shot wounds in Morocco."

We Supplied Arms and Training

We hospitalized and trained terrorists, mainly al-Qadhdhafi's Libyans. Training was to be carried out in Kazun and a center belonging to the Ministry of Internal Affairs in Legionowo. That is where Arabs were taught how to handle explosives and use modern arms. We do not know how many trainees there were.

An agreement between Poland and Libya provided for educating students at the Military Academy of Technology in Warsaw; we also trained experts for the air forces and the navy. Our informer claims that "the financial terms of the agreement were very rewarding for our country. The number of Palestinian terrorists trained in Polish centers was marginal. Centers of terrorist training for Arabs were located in the former Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic."

Trade Was Channeled Through Cenzin and SAS

The state monopolist in arms trade in times of the People's Republic was Cenzin. Within the framework of task assignment in the industry, similar services were rendered by Foreign Trade Enterprise [PHZ] Bumar and PHZ Polish Aviation Plant. Intermediaries in supplying arms to the Palestinian terrorists were SAS Trade and Investment Company established by Abu Nidal in Warsaw, and the Vienna-based firm ALCATRONIC. Due to pressure exerted by the United States, the SAS Warsaw office was closed down in 1987. Its employees had to leave the People's Republic without re-entry rights.

In 1988, following the implementation of a law on economic activity, CZInz was subdivided into:

—*The Central Engineering Board* [CZI] (an agency of the Ministry of Foreign Economic Cooperation), which issued licenses for arms imports and exports, and

—*Cenzin, Limited Liability Company.*

Licenses issued by CZI pertained to two groups of goods: *active combat arms* (tanks and ammunition) and *ancillary equipment*, such as helmets and gas masks. Cenzin, Bumar, and Cenrex currently hold licenses to export and import arms within the first category.

How To Bypass the Law

Arms are sent abroad primarily by sea and air.

To finalize a signed contract and send the arms abroad, a so- called final recipient document is needed. This does not necessarily imply that the arms reach the indicated destination. Titular recipients in illegal transactions are most often such countries as the Philippines, Cyprus, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, or Guyana. That is where it is easiest to obtain a counterfeit receipt. Moreover, CZI is unable to verify data contained in the documents.

Bad Money

Intermediaries in illegal transactions usually receive an "under the table" provision in the amount of 2-3 percent of the value of arms sold. The money is usually split beyond the territory of Poland. The "under the table" system is practiced all over the world—anyone who does not apply it raises suspicions. Revenues from illegal arms sales thus evade taxation. Special couriers who are exempt from customs clearance are employed to bring the money into the exporting country. A system of money transfers to banks, most often Swiss, is also very widespread. Three years ago, approximately 80 Polish companies dealt in illegal arms trade—twice as much as the number of licenses for operations of that type. "One may hardly expect anything has changed since then," says a person until recently involved in arms trade.

Arabs and Afghans

The best markets for Polish arms were—while we remained a meaningful partner—Africa and the Near and Far East. We exported arms to countries underdeveloped in terms of technology. Our arms were easy to use and were sold at competitive prices. In the early 1990's, one U.S. Abrams tank (4.5 million dollars) cost as much as four Polish tanks.

In 1991, it was revealed that Poland supplied arms to the Croats: license-holding companies sent several thousand small arms (mainly Kbk-AK's) and RPG-7's.

Arms trade is said to have nothing to do with ideology. In times of the People's Republic, we supplied arms not only to Abu Nidal's and Abu Abbas' terrorists, but also... to both sides in the Nicaraguan conflict, where equipment for the Contras (fighting the pro-Communist Sandinista regime) was channeled via Israel. Also the mujaheddin fighting the Soviet aggressor in Afghanistan used arms of Polish make—in that particular case the weapons were channeled through China, Pakistan, and the United States.

Who Is in Charge of Arms Today

The United States is the leader on the arms trade market. After several years of crisis, Russia is trying to recover its stronghold in Asia and the Arab countries (which is particularly difficult as Syria, Iran, and Iraq remain on the U.S. "negative list.")

The fact that the cooperation of Polish generals in times of the People's Republic came to light at the Spain trial may seriously jeopardize Poland's interests and security.

PDSR Communique Refutes Recent Statement

AU2601193195 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1400 GMT 26 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] At a meeting of the permanent delegation of the Social Democracy Party of Romania [PDSR], the Central Executive Bureau adopted a communique on a statement recently issued by six parliamentary parties from Hungary—our correspondent Letitia Military reports. In short, the PDSR communique emphasizes the following points:

There has been no action on the part of the Romanian Government aimed at banning the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR], as claimed by the authors of the statement issued by the six parliamentary parties in Hungary. The demand that the Constitution and the country's laws be observed is said by them to be endangering the democratization process in Romania. This, in the PDSR's opinion, is a totally erroneous view.

Here follows a quote: We consider that the politicians in Hungary are the last people in a position to pronounce themselves on the situation of minorities, given the significant differences between Romania and Hungary on ensuring the rights of individuals belonging to national minorities—the communique reads. The whole thing has nothing to do with the democratization process in Romania—other than the extent to which this process and the country's normal life are jeopardized by the UDMR's policy of personal, local, and territorial autonomy on ethnic foundations, with all its tragic implications, something that runs totally counter to relevant European norms and standards in the matter.

We do not think that the intervention of the main Hungarian parliamentary parties in support of such a policy is a proof of European democracy. There is a governmental body that deals with the problems of the minorities living in Romania, including the Hungarians: namely, the Council for National Minorities—which the UDMR is boycotting. Political dialogue, in which the UDMR should also participate, is being conducted among parties. The PDSR is ready to have such a dialogue with the UDMR whenever the latter wishes. In any case—reads the communique—we find it totally surprising that the Hungarian parties should ask the Romanian Government to engage in a dialogue with a minority, while they oppose a dialogue between the governments of the two countries.

The PDSR's appeal to realism and a democratic policy on behalf of democracy itself is addressed not only to the responsible political forces in Romania but also to the six Hungarian parliamentary parties—whom the PDSR wishes to inform that it backs an authentically democratic rule, but never based on ethnic criteria.

The communique is signed by Adrian Nastase, PDSR executive president.

PUNR Calls For Anti-UDMR Measures

AU2601084495 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1800 GMT 25 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] In connection with the visit that the Romanian delegation led by Mr. Viorel Hrebenciuc, government secretary general, is paying to Budapest, and in connection with the recent actions of the UDMR [Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania—RMDSZ in Hungarian] and of the Hungarian Government, the PUNR [Romanian National Unity Party] declares in a communique that the president and the prime minister of Hungry have shown that they are not in favor of dialogue and are not able to hold discussions with the secretary general of the Romanian Government.

Likewise, the communique reads, the Hungarian leaders have confirmed that they do not wish to have good relations with Romania and that they feel offended, just like the UDMR, by the fact that the Romanian Government does not ask them for a green light whenever it issues a communique regarding the unconstitutional actions of that ethnic party.

The communique, issued in Cluj Napoca and signed by Mr. Gheorghe Funar, reiterates the PUNR's intention to begin the procedure of having the UDMR declared unconstitutional by Romania's Government, Senate, and Chamber of Deputies. The same communique reads: When the appeal is heard in the plenum of the Constitutional Court, the government will be represented by the minister of justice.

The PUNR also announces that it has asked the government to adopt decisions ordering the collection of arms and ammunitions held illegally by the population, especially those in the possession of ethnic Hungarians—banning the UDMR's political activities in churches, ensuring that Romanian citizens who hoist the symbols of the Hungarian state or who play the Hungarian anthem on Romania's territory are punished, and introducing the testing of the knowledge of the Romanian language and the Romanian Constitution in the case of ethnic Hungarians who are employed by the Romanian state.

The PUNR communique reads, in conclusion: The PUNR announces that it will ask the minister of national defense, the interior minister, the justice minister, and the director of the Romanian Intelligence Service to order that ethnic Hungarian personnel who are members of the UDMR be placed on reserve duty or have their contracts terminated, considering that the UDMR claims that it is the representative of all ethnic Hungarians.

PDSR Communique Criticizes PUNR Communique

AU2601084895 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 2000 GMT 25 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] A few minutes ago, we received the following communique issued by the Social Democracy Party of Romania [PDSR]; here is the complete text of the communique:

The standing bureau of the PDSR, which met in the afternoon of 25 January 1995, took note of the PUNR [Romanian National Unity Party] communique issued on the same day and declares the following: The PUNR communique contains erroneous affirmations, assessments, and suggestions that have certain extremist nuances in connection with the manner of approaching the issue of minorities—especially the Hungarian minority—that the PDSR does not share. Through all those affirmations, assessments, and suggestions, the PUNR communique brings great disfavor to the government and its foreign policy, provoking the risk of a political isolation of Romania at the moment of our country's international affirmation on the road to European and Euro-Atlantic integration.

We ask ourselves what the intentions of this communique issued by the PUNR are, who it serves, and whether it is just the result of a hasty attitude or of political naivete.

The position expressed by PDSR Executive President Adrian Nastase at the news conference held in Focsani on 24 January 1995 is a realistic and balanced approach and an invitation to a reasonable and responsible analysis of a sensitive issue of Romanian society in the transition period, and reflects the viewpoint of the standing delegation of the Central Executive Bureau of the PDSR. The PUNR communique is a negation of the spirit and values inscribed in both the recently signed protocol of political understanding and the bilateral protocol concluded between the PDSR and PUNR on 1 February 1994.

Taking into account this aspect, the standing delegation will also include on the agenda of the meeting of the Central Executive Bureau of the PDSR scheduled for 10 February 1995 the issue of cooperation between the PDSR and the PUNR—reads the communique that our editorial office has jut received and the full text of which has been read here.

The communique is signed by Mr. Oliviu Gherman, president of this party.

Justice Minister Refuses To Resign Over Position

LD2501232895 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 2100 GMT 25 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Cluj-Napoca Mayor Gheorghe Funar is demanding tough anti-Hungarian measures—for a change. The Romanian justice minister, who is a member of Funar's party, continues to insist that he will ban the HDUR [Hungarian Democratic Union in Romania]. Denes Baracs reports from Bucharest.

[Baracs] Romanian Justice Minister Chiuzbaian, who was openly criticized by members of the larger party in the government coalition after his statement calling for measures against the HDUR, today repeatedly made it clear that he has no intention whatsoever of resigning, and that he continues to hold the view expressed in his statement last Friday [20 January]—that there are a sufficient number of justifications for banning the HDUR, or more precisely, starting the procedure of declaring it unconstitutional.

The minister said he will be able to resign only after a decision by his own party to this effect, whereas the fact is that all his party's leaders came out in his support today.

This evening, Funar, the party chairman himself, issued a statement in which he assured Chiuzbaian of his appreciation and support. What is more, taking for granted that the procedure against the HDUR will indeed begin, Funar stressed that the relevant statement of indictment would be defended at the hearing in the Constitutional Court by the minister himself, on behalf of the government. [passage omitted]

HDUR Leader Censures Anti-HDUR 'Campaign'

LD2501153195 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1400 GMT 25 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The leader of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania [HDUR] group in the [Romanian] Senate has affirmed that the organization of Romanian Hungarians wants to achieve nationality autonomy [nemzetisegi autonomia] exclusively together with the majority, by using the parliamentary way.

At the same time, Attila Verestoy condemned the Bucharest campaign launched against the HDUR, which represents the interests of Hungarians. He urged an open dialogue between the Romanian authorities and the Hungarian community [magyarsag]. He said: Romanian leaders are making statements on issues concerning the HDUR without even being acquainted with the standpoints and documents of this organization to represent the interest of Romanian Hungarians.

Tinca on Military Activities, Problems

95P20397A Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 16 Dec 94 p 2

[Article by Doru Dragomir: "The Armed Forces Will Reduce Personnel by 25.4 Percent in the Next Five Years"]

[FBIS Translated Text] As expected, the weekly press conference of the Ministry of National Defense has been suspended. Since good ideas do not go too far in the Armed Forces these days, Gheorghe Tinca convinced himself—or was convinced—that his excellent initiative for a weekly press conference was a bad idea. Thus, the conservatives in the Ministry of National Defense succeeded in preventing typically Western activities—the weekly press conference and the institution of the spokesman—from taking concrete form. So, what was expected to happen actually happened.

At yesterday's press conference, Minister of National Defense Gheorghe Tinca reported on the main aspects of the activities and operation of the Ministry of National Defense.

A number of laws aiming at a better operation of the ministry have been put into final form, approved by the Supreme Council for the Defense of the Nation, and submitted to parliament for approval.

With new criteria being set for selection, the hiring of the military on a contract basis resumed on 1 July 1994, with the goal of having their number not exceed 20,000 the by the year 2000, because of the reduced personnel expenditures.

The training of groups of reservists is to begin in 1994, taking them off production work, and by the end of the year, about 46,000 reservists will be participating in training. During 1995, work is expected to continue on the first phase of putting the the army's permanent communications system—STAR—into operation. At the request of the United Nations, three more infantry battalions capable of participating in peacekeeping operations will be set up (in Iasi, Craiova and Timisoara).

In 1993, the number of serious accidents decreased by 18 percent in comparison to 1992, while in 1994 they increased by 13 percent, especially the number of airplane accidents. These resulted in the deaths of four pilots, one mechanic aboard the aircraft, and four passengers, and the destruction of 11 aircraft (one MIG-19, two MIG-23's, four MIG-21's, one IAR-29, one AN-26 and two IAR-330 helicopters). Mainly because of improper handling of weapons, ammunition and explosive materials and because of traffic accidents, the number of deaths increased in 1994, compared to 1993.

During the period from January 1993 to October 1994, 63 investigative dossiers were compiled, involving 171 persons. They included all categories of Army personnel. During the same period, 1,732 officers, 459 warrant officers, 2,400 non-commissioned officers, 220 hired soldiers and 1,035 civilian employees were penalized with fines. Some 70 percent of ordnance funds were allocated for the purchase of domestically produced weapons and combat technology, and 30 percent for imported weapons and technology.

The draft budget for the Ministry of People's Defense for 1995 is 1,772.74 billion lei (10.6 percent of the national budget). Of this amount, 10 billion lei are intended for actions related to the Partnership for Peace. Ministry of National Defense personnel is earmarked for a 25.4 percent reduction by the year 2000.

In answer to questions, Gheorghe Tinca explained that members of the Armed Forces are permitted to be stockholders in commercial companies on the basis of certificates of ownership, while members of their families can be owners of firms, as long as the company's activity has no connection with the Ministry of National Defense.

In 1995, it is expected that two MIG-29 aircraft, a flight simulator and several training planes will be purchased.

The white paper containing data and documents on the December 1989 events will be available at the Central Military Club as of 22 December 1994.

In answer to a question, Gheorghe Tinca said Colonel General Dumitriu Cioflina has promoted him from the rank of second lieutenant in the reserves to the rank of major in the reserves.

SDA Adopts Memorandum on Federation

LD2601231695 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2130 GMT 26 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Dear listeners, as we have announced, we will now broadcast extensive excerpts from the memorandum of the Party of Democratic Action [SDA—Stranka Demokratske Akcije], about which the party's Secretary General Mirsad Ceman informed the public at a news conference today. [passage omitted]

We will now broadcast extensive excerpts from the memorandum whose opening chapter deals with the chronology of the Muslim-Croat Federation, which begins with the signing of the Washington Agreement in early March last year. [passage omitted]

Unfortunately, all that has not yielded potential and expected results. The implementation of the Federation's Constitutions and all agreed measures is running considerably late or has made no progress at all. The memorandum spells out the main problems and the reasons that caused them.

The second chapter focuses on the implementation of the Federation's Constitution. It is recalled in the section that deals with the guarantees of human rights and freedoms that the Federation's Constitution upholds and guarantees the highest standards of human rights and freedoms. The chapter reads: Unfortunately, in the areas under the control of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO], the existence of one-nation, one-religion, and one-party authorities is being prolonged. The work of Bosniak national, political [word indistinct], cultural, and other institutions and organizations is almost completely obstructed. The memorandum states that Bosniak cultural heritage and Muslim places of worship were destroyed and damaged in an earlier period. It is also stated that when an official SDA delegation visited Stolac, it was not allowed to move around the town and in Capljina they found it impossible to talk to any Bosniak representative living in the area.

Such things never happen in the territory under the control of the legal authorities of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the memorandum says and suggests that a joint commission, including international institutions from friendly countries, should tour these areas and establish the true state of affairs.

The memorandum says that the process of setting up transitional municipal authorities is still in its very early stages and is seriously lagging behind in the territories under HVO control, compared to other areas of the Federation. There is a similar situation with canton authorities, which have so far been set up only in the Tuzla-Podrinje canton. The memorandum says that even allowing for the difficulties in forming these bodies in nationally mixed cantons, there is absolutely no excuse for the failure to set them up in the cantons with a majority Croat population, where canton authorities have not been set up either, which indicates the lack of, or a change in, the political will to implement what had been agreed.

This following statement reads: Instead of forming local authorities in municipalities and cantons in the areas under HVO control, they [Bosnian Croats] are continuing to strengthen the so-called Croat republic of Herzeg-Bosna, unrecognized under the Federation's Constitutions.

The chapter entitled: The setting up and the work of the Federation's institutions, says that almost all federal institutions were set up immediately upon the adoption of the constitution. However, after the initial achievements, it has recently become increasingly obvious that their work is being brought to a halt, and sometimes even hampered and blocked. This is explained at greater length in the section dealing with the Federation's constituent assembly whose big and ambitious plans to introduce legal premises to set up a legal, economic, monetary, defense, and other systems of the Federation have been put in jeopardy by the de facto blockade of the Federal Assembly's work by the Croat representatives.

It is also stated here that a proposal was put forward to the official HDZ [Croatian Democratic Union] delegation at the talks in Mostar to extend President Zubak's mandate for the next six months, with appropriate changes in the formulation of the Vienna Agreement. This was rejected during the talks in Sarajevo on 17 January this year. The memorandum takes note of the obvious attempt by the HDZ to depart from the Vienna Agreement, and to transform a Federation of cantons into a Federation of two entities.

The part that deals with the government and ministries of the Republic, and the Federation mentions increasingly frequent cases of obstruction by the Croatian side, and states that Croat ministers and their deputies hardly ever stay in Sarajevo or carry out their duties. Instead, there are attempts to impose the partnership of the government of the so-called Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna on the government and ministers of the Federation.

Finally, the part that deals with the army of the Federation and the previously mentioned Split Agreement, states that the Law on Defense should have defined and enabled the process of the creation of the Federation's Armed Forces. This did not happen, first of all because, according to statements by some of the highest-ranking military and political officials, the HVO [Croatian Defense Council] should only defend the so-called Croat national territory and the Federation's Constitution does not recognize such a solution, which is also against the spirit of the Washington Agreements.

The free movement of people, goods, and capital was given special treatment. This part mentions free passage and a single customs and political control over the Doljani-Doboj road, the confiscation of 30 to 50 percent of humanitarian aid, the unauthorized use of funds for customs duty, and other taxes. Particularly difficult is the flow of goods on border crossings, which foreign partners intended for parts of the republic with majority Bosniak populations.

As for the return of refugees, international conventions, the Federal Constitution, and all later agreements guarantee the safety of all refugees returning of their own free will, as specified by the Zagreb Agreement. Unfortunately, the SDA memorandum says, despite the cessation of clashes between the HVO and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, this did not happen.

With the help of the republic of Croatia the return of Bosniak refugees from third countries is closely controlled, and the HVO authorities are not allowing the return of refugees, which practically puts an end to this process.

The third chapter of the memorandum speaks of relations between the republic of Croatia and the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Following the Washington Agreements there has been a significant improvement in relations between Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, the memorandum says, which has contributed to a change in the international community's attitude to Croatia, as also confirmed by President Tudjman.

Unfortunately, a great discrepancy exists between these relations and the daily verbal support given to the Washington Agreement when it comes to relations between the two states in some very concrete issues. This refers primarily to economic relations. In this connection the memorandum gives concrete examples such as an agreement on a free zone in the port of Ploce and unhindered transit through the municipality of Neum. It goes on to say that Croatia has been using this free passage through the municipality of Neum, while Bosnia-Herzegovina cannot yet use the free port of Ploce.

In the same vein, no progress has been made on the initial versions of the agreement on the welfare of war invalids, which is the key element for the establishment of economic cooperation and for the equality of economic enterprises and citizens.

Furthermore, as far as the agreement on economic cooperation is concerned, Croatia is not ready to give up collecting duties for the transit over its territory of six highly taxed products. Croatia has levied an 18 percent tax for products coming from the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army controlled parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina, while the same tax does not apply to enterprises from HVO-controlled parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Enterprises from Croatia are exempt from paying taxes when their products go to HVO-controlled parts of Bosnia—Herzegovina. Only the agreements on air traffic and cooperation between customs offices are ready for signing.

The last chapter of this memorandum contains a general assessment saying:

In an attempt to identify cases of, and individuals responsible for blockades and obstructions of the implementation of the Washington Agreement—it appears they are of different levels and origin—[words indistinct] various war profiteers, local warlords, and uncontrolled groups existing on HVO-controlled territory, who profit from their present position in an easy and effortless way. The establishment of order, human rights, and democracy does not suit them.

The gravest difficulties in the implementation of the Washington Agreement, however, seem to lie in the different conceptual approaches and envisaged goals of the process. The republic of Croatia was one of the first countries to recognize the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina within its internationally recognized borders. However, its top leaders have in their recent public statements started almost ignoring the very concept of the Republic of Bosnia- Herzegovina. Some top officials of the Republic of Croatia have been saying that Bosnia-Herzegovina is an artificial creation, which in the past was kept in existence by force alone, which is a historical lie. If we add to this those statements on Croatian national territories in Bosnia-Herzegovina even in areas with a mixed ethnic composition, and the Croatian Defense Council as the military formation that is given the task of defending those territories, then we can clearly detect diametrically opposed differences in the interpretation of the Washington agreement.

Our approach is that the implementation of the Federation is a very important first phase of the peace process aimed at reintegrating the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina, not as a unitary, but as a federal state, which is integral and democratic. In this respect, individual, collective, and ethnic rights are guaranteed by the federal setup of the state, human rights guarantees and the democratic system.

We have recently started hearing increasingly frequently the absurd views on the need to abolish the institutions of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the republic itself by [Zdravko] Sancevic, Croatian ambassador to the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and others. This amounts either to intentional attempts to cause confusion or a misunderstanding of the difference between the form of government and the form of internal setup of a state. Having adopted the constitutional law on the changes to the Constitution of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Constitution of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, it is impossible for the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina to be a unitary state, because the top legal documents envisage a federal setup.

The Constitution of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Constitution of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation (?define) the powers of these two state entities. Hence the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation is a matter of the internal transformation of the republic, but only in one part of its territory. The Constitution of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina makes it clear: Article 1 of the Constitution says that Bosniaks and Croats, as constituent nations, together with other citizens of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, taking advantage of their sovereign rights, are reshaping the internal structure of the territory with the majority Bosniak and Croat population in the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, which consists of federal units with equal rights and responsibilities.

The same principle can be found in the preamble of the Constitution, which sets out that the Federation is being established, and we quote, on the principle of sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. [Words indistinct] relations between the Republic and the Federation.

In our opinion, and this certainly stems from the Washington Agreements and the Federal Constitution, administrative arrangements are clearly [words indistinct] transitional bodies at municipal and cantonal levels. For this reason we find unacceptable President Tudjman's stand contained in his assembly address that, and we quote, the Washington Agreement and the Federal Constitution envisage that the Constitution of Croat Republic of Herceg-Bosna and its army should remain until the implementation of a new federal constitution and confederal ties with Croatia. No basis for this stand can be found in any of the signed documents.

Bearing in mind these and similar statements, and Croatia's well-known desire that the area under HVO control should be integrated into its economic, monetary, customs, communications, and other systems, it will be difficult to implement the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, as envisaged by the Washington Agreements and the Federal Constitution and unanimously endorsed by the constituent assembly of the Federation.

We maintain that a goodwill committee, consisting of representatives of the U.S., German, Turkish, and Austrian ambassadors, and representatives of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia should produce an assessment of the aforementioned, compile the views of the other side, and help remove the obstacles on the way to the full implementation of the Washington Agreements and the Federal Constitution.

We are convinced that both Croatian and Bosniak people in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia are in favor of the consistent implementation of the Washington Agreements and of cooperation between the two people and the two states, in the interest of both people and both countries, it is stated in the memorandum of the Party of Democratic Action, issued today, on reasons for the failure to implement the Washington Agreements.

Tension Between Bosnian Muslims, Croats Reported

LD2601215095 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2130 GMT 26 Jan 95

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Jan 26 (TANJUG)—Muslim-Croat relations in central Bosnia are becoming increasingly strained, because Muslim police are continuing to terrorize Croats, a Bosnian Croat radio said Thursday.

Radio Herceg-Bosna reported that a delegation of top Herceg-Bosna state and party officials had urgently left for that region in the Muslim-Croat Federation to prevent armed conflicts. The radio said Muslim police had completely blocked some routes and were checking all persons and vehicles passing along them.

The Bosnian Croat Army Command reported that Muslim police had arrested two officials of the Croatian Democratic Union party on Wednesday.

Radio Herceg-Bosna said tensions between Croats and Muslims were dramatically mounting also in northern Bosnia, where Muslim police had seized the premises of the newly-founded Croatian Municipality Ravne of the town of Brcko. The radio reported Wednesday that Croats were fleeing from northeastern Bosnia, because Muslim authorities were pressuring them into leaving the region. More than 5,000 Croats have so far left the towns of Lukavac, Zivinice and Banovici, the radio said.

The Muslim-Croat Federation in Bosnia was set up under U.S. pressure in March 1994. An agreement to this effect was signed after nearly a year of Muslim-croat fighting.

The Federation has a president and prime minister, but despite that it has not really started functioning, with Muslims and Croats accusing each other of violating the Federation agreement.

Russian UN Troops Allow Seizure of Journalist

AU2701121095 Paris AFP in English 1141 GMT 27 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Jan 27 (AFP)—A Bosnian Moslem journalist was seized here by Serb police after Russian UN officers transporting him violated standard practice and allowed police to search their vehicle, a UN spokesman reported Friday [27 January].

"This is our mistake and we will do everything possible to facilitate the release of the detained journalist," spokesman Alexander Ivanko said.

Namik Berberovic (eds: correct) was on Thursday removed from a Russian-operated UN armoured personnel carrier that had stopped at the Serb checkpoint at Kasindolska between the airport and government-controlled Sarajevo, Ivanko said.

Three foreign journalists aboard the vehicle were searched but not detained, while Berberovic, who works for Bosnian television, was taken to a police station in Serb-held Ilidza.

Ivanko said the Russian officers should have realized they were transporting a local journalist from the airport and taken a different route, passing through the government checkpoint at Dobrinja.

But once stopped by the Serbs, he stressed, the officers—who were not threatened by the police—should never have opened the door of the vehicle and allowed their passengers to be searched.

He said UN authorities immediately pressed for Berberovic's release but added that a French military officer and a UN civil affairs official had been denied access to the journalist.

"UNPROFOR (the UN Protection Force) has been informed that the journalist was under investigation for carrying 'propaganda materials,'" Ivanko said, adding that the new UN commander for Bosnia, General Rupert Smith, would raise the issue during talks with Serb authorities on Friday.

He also said disciplinary measures were likely against the Russian officers involved.

The detention of the journalist recalled a similar but far more serious incident on January 8, 1993 when Bosnian Vice Premier Hakija Turajlic was shot dead by a Serb soldier while inside a UN armoured vehicle under the protection of French troops.

UNPROFOR Fires on Army 1st Corps

AU2701094095 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 27 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The [Serbian] aggressor violated the agreed truce in the area around the Jewish Cemetery in Sarajevo again last night, between 2200 and 2300. It fired grenades at the positions of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army on two occasions. The defenders of the city did not respond to these aggressors' attacks. Nor did UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force], whose posts for checking that the truce is being observed are near the scene of the attack.

The aggressor then launched a third attack on the city's defense lines. Members of the Army's 1st Corps were forced to respond. UNPROFOR, too, fired, but at our positions. After a brief and intensive exchange, the firing stopped. The Command of the 1st Corps has sent a sharp protest to Colonel (Dumarenko), chief of the UNPROFOR's General Staff for the Sarajevo Sector. An official reply from UNPROFOR is being awaited.

Prlic Views Federation, UNPROFOR Mandate

AU2501182495 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 15 Jan 95 p 7

[Interview with Jadranko Prlic, prime minister of the Croatian republic of Herceg-Bosna, by S. Lovrenovic; place and date not given: "Expected Government Restructuring"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Mostar—On the occasion of the restructuring of the government of the Croatian republic of Herceg-Bosna, we asked Jadranko Prlic, former and newly appointed prime minister, to answer a few questions.

[Lovrenovic] Mr. Prlic, could you tell us why the government is being restructured?

[Prlic] The proposal of the Presidential Council has 12 new people in ministerial and deputy-ministerial functions, which is in accordance with views of the Chamber of Representatives and leaders of the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community]. The criteria were established at a joint session of the Presidential Council and the HDZ Presidency in Livno a month ago.

[Lovrenovic] Does that mean that the portfolio division was made according to functions certain people hold in the Federation Government?

[Prlic] Yes, we have agreed on that. It is the pivotal and most important change in the government of the Croatian republic of Herceg-Bosna.

Better Coordination Between Republic and Federation Authorities

[Lovrenovic] Will that ensure better coordination between the republic and Federation executive authorities?

[Prlic] I think it will, and all relevant bodies share my view. When I was prime minister-designate, I also proposed, together with Deputy Prime Minister Soljic, some other changes, but we eventually agreed on a proposal that was presented to the Chamber of Representatives.

[Lovrenovic] You are also deputy prime minister of the Federation Government. What is the situation regarding the appointment of Croat personnel to ministries and the diplomatic corps?

[Prlic] In principle, we raised the possibility of appointing personnel to our embassies and consulates according to national representation, and a seminar for Croat candidates will begin this month in Neum. Regarding ministries, we are collecting some proposals, and we must wait for the constitutional laws to do the rest. We must first provide a solid organization for the Federation ministries and then work out a scheme of nationally balanced composition.

[Lovrenovic] Is the conflict between Prime Minister Silajdzic and the director of Bosnia-Herzegovina Radio and Television personal or is she attacking the government as a whole?

[Prlic] I am not interested in that. Every government and every prime minister are subject to criticism and attacks. Perhaps that will be discussed at the upcoming session of the Constituent Assembly, but personally I do not think that is very important.

The Croats Are Not Campaigning Against Anyone

[Lovrenovic] Sarajevo reporters contend that the Croats have launched a campaign against Silajdzic.

[Prlic] The Croats are not campaigning against anyone. The Croats have their views on state and party bodies, and the public knows their answers to all questions.

[Lovrenovic] You are also minister of defense. Do you not think that the implementation of the cease-fire in Bosnia-Herzegovina is not going very well?

[Prlic] That was expected. It is difficult to maintain a cease-fire, but I expect positive results.

[Lovrenovic] We heard about Senator Dole's demand for lifting the arms embargo against Bosnia-Herzegovina. Will that bring war or will the cease-fire result in a political solution after all?

[Prlic] We will see. We will stick to the Contact Group plan. The Contact Group also confirmed that yesterday, and the plan will therefore remain the basis for the drafting of both the peace plan and the political solution. Regarding Senator Dole's proposal, the proposal was not presented in the form of a law. Rather, I think it is an element of pressure. We should not place much hope on the proposal itself, considering a complex procedure of the U.S. Congress and the fact that the U.S. President has the right of veto. Consequently, I think it is a form of pressure, not a potential decision that will eventually be accepted.

[Lovrenovic] Do you think that the cease-fire will hold and that the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina is over in a way?

[Prlic] The cease-fire is not holding, especially on the Livno battlefield. HVO [Croatian Defense Council] units have been exposed to fierce attacks by the Serbian Army all the while. The HVO has not yet felt the results of the cease-fire.

[Lovrenovic] The meeting with the Party of Democratic Action did not result in an agreement on key functions in the Federation. Will the Croat-Muslim Federation weather it all?

[Prlic] This is a complex process, but I am not pessimistic. Those are all regular procedures. Especially considering our circumstances. The end of the hostilities between the HVO and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army has already produced so many positive things on both sides that we can only build on it, making the two sides even stronger.

[Box, p 7]

A Logical Decision of a Statesman

[Lovrenovic] How will President Tudjman's decision to terminate the UNPROFOR [United Nations Protection Force] mandate in Croatia affect Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Prlic] That was a logical decision of a statesman. Croatia can no longer wait and be patient regarding the inefficiency of UNPROFOR, which is not doing what it was mandated to do by the UN Security Council. That is also a very important question for Bosnia-Herzegovina. I, personally, think that it is important to solve the situation in the Republic of Croatia first of all. In other words, to reintegrate all parts of the internationally recognized country into the constitutional and legal system of the Republic of Croatia. After that, it will be much easier to find a lasting solution for the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina. We cannot find a solution for Bosnia-Herzegovina without previously solving the problems in Croatia.

Bosnian, Croatian Serbs Discuss Joint Defense

LD2501175695 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1713 GMT 25 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 25 Jan (TANJUG)—In Pale today the leaderships of the Srpska republic [RS] and the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] discussed the new situation following Croatian President Franjo Tudjman's threat to "retake Krajina by force" and official Zagreb's decision to cancel the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] mandate on 31 March, SRNA reports.

Expressing his satisfaction at the fact that the RS had revived the peace process, and that the Contact Group had realized its glaring mistake and changed its stance on the RS, RSK President Milan Martic confirmed after the talks that Krajina will be doing everything to defend its sovereignty.

"The war was imposed on the Serb people and we do not wish to threaten anybody with war, but we will do everything to preserve the sovereignty of the RSK. We are here today to resume our cooperation stemming from the declaration adopted at the joint assembly in Prijedor in 1992. The declaration says that the territory of the RSK and the RS is one and that we will jointly defend it in the event of aggression," Martic underlined.

RS President Radovan Karadzic reiterated the Srpska republic leadership's orientation toward peace and accelerated completion of the peace plan through negotiations, emphasizing his strong support for the peaceful option of the republic of Serb Krajina and respect for everything Krajina has achieved in respect of the talks on economic cooperation with Croatia.

"On behalf of the Srpska republic and its people, I wish to say that we will put up joint defense in the event of aggression. We would like Croatia to abandon its intentions, and we are asking the international community to exert its influence on Croatia. However, if in the end Croatia attacks the republic of Serb Krajina we must put up joint defense, confirmed Karadzic, adding that 'in that case the entire Serbian nation will most likely not remain indifferent.'"

"In this we perceive a threat and the danger of a large-scale war in the Balkans," Karadzic said.

Asked whether there were guarantees that the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia], in the event of an UNPROFOR withdrawal, would protect the RSK, something it was obliged to do in accordance with the Vance plan, Martic replied that he has "had several conversations with the FRY leadership over the past few days on precisely this topic," and that he could state "that Serbia and Yugoslavia are meeting their obligations and that they would protect the territory of Krajina."

UN: 'Elite' FRY Army Attacking Bihac

AU2701085395 Paris AFP in English 0039 GMT 27 Jan 95

[Article by Victoria Stegic: "Military Strengths in Croatia"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Jan 27 (AFP)—Croatia could mobilise 250,000 men and easily pacify secessionist Serbs in Krajina provided they got no help from Serbs in Bosnia and rump Yugoslavia, a Croatian military expert said.

In new fighting in the breakaway region, the Croatian army would have a three to one advantage said Karl Gorinsek, a retired officer of the former Yugoslav army. But the ratio would be reversed if Serbs from elsewhere rallied to Krajina's defence, he added.

Krajina chief Milan Martic and Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic said Wednesday [26 January] they would mount a joint defence against attack from Croatia. Arkan, a warlord whose militia were prominent in the Croatian war of 1991 and later in Bosnia-Herzegovina, meanwhile said Krajina could count on several thousand armed volunteers from Serbia.

UN sources here said elite Yugoslav army units were already providing senior personnel to Krajina military formations which are fighting in the Bihac Moslem enclave of northwest Bosnia alongside the militia of dissident Moslem chief Fikret Abdic.

The Croatian army currently comprises 105,000 men, according to the London-based International Institute of Strategic Studies (IISS). Despite an arms embargo since September 1991, Croatia has built up its firepower substantially to today's tally of 176 tanks and more than 1,000 artillery pieces of various calibres, including multiple rocket-launchers.

Facing that armada in Krajina are 240 tanks inherited from the Yugoslav army, 100 armoured vehicles and 600 cannon, including 16 multiple launchers, the IISS says. At the start of the 1991 war, Croatia had a sole warplane to confront the Yugoslav military, then reckoned Europe's fourth- ranking fighting force, but now it has 20 fighter-bombers, including 13 MiG 21s, and 17 transport and combat helicopters.

Croatia's anti-aircraft defences number more than 600 guns and ground-air missiles, the IISS reports. Gorinsek pointed out however that the combined air forces of the Krajina, Bosnian and Yugoslav Serbs were 20 times stronger than Croatia's, and they had an eight to one naval advantage.

Yugoslav military experts consider Croatia's geography, leaving out Krajina, to be a disadvantage. The country is 1,000 kilometres (620 miles) long but barely a few dozen kilometres wide in places, where the front lines could easily be cut by Krajina. Yugoslav press reports this week said Krajina had Luna (Frog-7) and SS-21 missiles—it gave no indication how many—with ranges of 60 and 120 kilometres respectively (37 and 74 miles), which could target a dozen main cities, including the capital Zagreb.

Croatian newspapers reported that the army and the Bosnian Croat force HVO threatened the Krajina capital Knin with artillery positioned on recently captured high ground in Bosnia. The Croatian government has asked UN Protection Force troops to leave within three months of the expiry of their mandate at the end of March, arguing that their continued presence is hampering restoration of central sovereignty over the 25 percent of the country cut off by Serbs in the 1991 fighting.

The UNPROFOR contingent of 15,000, most of it stationed in Krajina, has no mandate to fight and no appropriate weaponry, and has lost more than 50 soldiers killed since deploying in Croatia in April 1992.

Serbs Continue Artillery Attacks in Bihac Region

AU2701114795 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 27 Jan 95

[Report by Muhamed Mulic from Bihac]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The joint [Bosnian and Croatian Serb] aggressors and [Abdic's] paramilitary formations of the so-called autonomous region of western Bosnia are not keeping quite again today in the theater of operations of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army's 5th Corps and the General Staff of the Croatian Defense Council in the Bihac region.

Last night, enemy forces used artillery and small arms around the protected area of Bihac, in the regions of Zegar, Debeljaca Hill, Vedro Polje, Klokot, (?Slapari), and other villages along the border with the UNPA [UN Protected Area] in the so-called Serbian Krajina.

The joint aggressors were also active in the Velika Kladusa region. They fired artillery and small arms throughout the night and these attacks gained in intensity this morning, with the Kumarica and Pupinovac areas coming under the fiercest attacks. Martic's and Abdic's paramilitary formations tried unsuccessfully to make infantry breaches in these regions.

Other fronts are somewhat quieter today than in previous days, especially parts of the Bosanska Krupa and Bosanska Otoka regions, and the Grmusa-Srbljani and Grabez Plateaux. [passage omitted]

Bosnian Croats, 5th Army Liberate Bugar

LD2601234995 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2300 GMT 26 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] In fierce fighting today units of the Bihac Croatian Defense Council [HVO] and of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army's 5th Corps jointly liberated the village of Bugar, situated 20 km northwest of Bihac, on the border with the Republic of Croatia. This was stated for Croatian Radio of Herceg-Bosna this evening by Major General Vlado Santic, commander of the Bihac HVO. According to him, scores of Serbian combatants have been killed, and some have been taken prisoner. He added that formations of the Bihac HVO and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army's 5th Corps have approached Licko Petrovo Selo.

Serb General on War, Events in Bihac Theater

95BA0092C Belgrade DUGA in Serbo-Croatian 10-23 Dec 94 pp 25-28

[Interview with Colonel General Manojlo Milovanovic of the army of the Srpska republic by Zoran Petrovic-Pirocanac on the Krupa-Bihac battlefield; date not given: "The Angrier the Serbs in Serbia Get at Us, the More We Love Them"]

[FBIS Translated Text] As I arrived at the headquarters of General Milovanovic on the Krupa-Bihac battlefield, I was thinking of the words of Jean-Pierre Rageau, one of the authors of the *World Strategic Atlas*: "Any definition of strategy, whether it be political, military, or commercial, implies thorough analytical work of the field of study done beforehand." The fact that General Mladic sent to this theater his right-hand man and an irreplaceable person in the General Staff of the VRS [army of the Srpska republic] was enough indication to me that extremely important events would take place in this area. The poor organization and laxness of the Serbian forces in the Bihac area resulted in a rout unusual for the Serbian Army in late October. The world media, along with a good many domestic media (in their now proverbial blind following of the "great media" from the outside world), concealed the first great victory of the Muslims in this war. In Belgrade, one opposition party even arranged a real "party" in honor of the "unrestrainable advancement of Dudakovic's 5th Corps."

But anyone with any knowledge of the people in the General Staff of the VRS knew that Milovanovic was arriving to rapidly change the scene on the battlefield and above all to inflict total defeat on Dudakovic.

Panzer General Milovanovic, an experienced wolf in the art of war, is among those soldiers who respect the ancient principle: either with my shield or on it. Because he has adopted that principle, he also expects it of his subordinates, so that I was not surprised in the least by the team of officers he had gathered around him.

One trouble about this interview is that many scenes that I saw for myself and the names of officers whom I saw in the field I still cannot publish for understandable security reasons, which are the same in all armies of the world. All Milovanovic's officers, that is, comprise a team of very agile and strong officers capable of performing even almost impossible missions.

[Milovanovic] It was not my arrival that accomplished the turnaround, but certain people and certain units had arrived ahead of me, and I came on the day when these new and fresh units went into combat, and the turnaround was accomplished on that very day. I would not like that to be attributed to me, but it should be attributed to the fighting men of the VRS. It is true that on one occasion I said that this irresistibly recalls the battle of Kolubara. Once again, there was a rout of the Serbian Army, this time to a far smaller extent. However, there are certain facts that they have in common. When these units arrived from the entire territory of the VRS, their entry into combat restored the morale and confidence of the fighters who had been in these areas up to that point that they could beat the Muslims. History is repeating itself, not because people want it that way, but because there are natural laws operating here.

[Petrovic-Pirocanac] Fikret Abdic is again on the scene in Bosnia. Today, we see that according to some estimates 70 percent of Abdic's armament passed easily into the hands of Dudakovic's forces. And now the question arises whether that mistake will be repeated, because Abdic's forces, according to some reports, are moving against the 5th Corps?

[Milovanovic] I do not want to get into politics. My task is to regain Serbian territories occupied by the 5th Corps between 24 and 31 October. And I say: My exclusive mission is to break up the 5th Corps, to recapture territories, and the bodies of government and political authorities will define future policy. I have no intention to leave the 5th Corps alone until I render it militarily harmless, so that after a month I do not have to beat them once again.

[Petrovic-Pirocanac] What I have been able to see reminds me of a snake slowly strangling a frog. Is my picture accurate?

[Milovanovic] I do not know who you consider to be the snake and who is the frog. We are not slowly strangling the 5th Corps, we are strangling the 5th Corps rapidly, faster than it expected. After all, a month and a half ago the 5th Corps defeated its own people and that made it euphoric. I must admit that they surprised us, that they quickly turned toward us after defeating the National Defense forces of the autonomous province of western Bosnia [APZB]. However, every action also has its reaction.

I said at the time that the behavior of Dudakovic, 5th Corps commander, was suspicious to me, because he was so happy about the defeat of his own people. He beat the Muslims, destroyed them, only because they did not approve the policy of the top Muslim leadership. And I predicted at the time that this relishing of a defeat of his own people would not end well. Nevertheless, I hold Dudakovic in esteem. I never underestimate an adversary. He is still a good commander....

[Petrovic-Pirocanac] Your school in a way....

[Milovanovic] Yes, my school. However, still, when I was a general, Dudakovic was a captain first class. Differences in age have an effect. That is, differences in maturity. He has committed several oversights here since I came. I know what they are, but they are not for publication at this point.

[Petrovic-Pirocanac] It is now evident from the example of the VRS that many able officers did nevertheless come out of the ranks of the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army], which has been greatly criticized in the last few years. Many of them nevertheless went to Serbia. Why did you and your officers remain in Bosnia?

[Milovanovic] I did not remain in Bosnia, I came to Bosnia when the war began.

History Punishes Those Who Hesitate

[Petrovic-Pirocanac] You came back home.

[Milovanovic] I came back home. After I graduated from the two-year Military Academy, on the basis of some ethnic quota system and I do not know why, I was transferred to Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia] to correct the ethnic average, which was important at the time. However, when it began, first in Croatia, Gen. Mladic called for me, and I was ready and waiting for that call. I was not the only one who came, but all the officers who are now fighting, because more or less all of those were outside the territory of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina. That again is because of that quota system. And the way I look on those officers who have stayed, I have said this several times already: I will use all my strength, energy, and mind to discredit those people. If he is not going to defend the territory of his own native place, and the Army of Yugoslavia has accepted him, he will not defend the territory of Serbia either, Sandzak and Kosovo in particular. After all, these are the men who remained, mainly for reasons of social welfare, because of some social security. History punishes this terribly; these people are not aware of what they did.

[Petrovic-Pirocanac] As a journalist I have had a rare occasion to follow you partially at the front, and I have the impression that you personally take too many risks. What is the reason for this, because I also know the story about you and Gen. Mladic last year on Igman carrying ammunition and pushing a cannon into position together with the Army?

[Milovanovic] This is a different stamp, if I might put it that way, a second edition of the Serbian Army. We generals could have lived in luxury apartments and pulled the strings on the battlefield from there. We responded as professional experts. I can make my moves far more successfully if I am with the fighting man every day than from some bunker. Finally, all of us in the General Staff, practically all the officers of the VRS, accept as our premise that my head is not worth a bit more than the head of the 20-year-old we are leading into war. There are no irreplaceable people; we have generals getting killed and colonels and lieutenant colonels, by and large the officers. The ratio of casualties between enlisted men and officers has never before been seen in history.

[Petrovic-Pirocanac] Can the cadres of the VRS be considered in practice the beginning of a future unified Serbian Army?

[Milovanovic] The army of the RS [Srpska republic] has been carrying the main burden of the war for the Serbs in the Balkans, or for the Serbs in general, and thereby also for Orthodoxy. I really hate it when people regard this as a civil war. This is not a civil war in Bosnia-Herzegovina. This is a religious war, this is a conflict of religions, of Orthodoxy, Catholicism, and Islam. At the moment, Islam and Catholicism are on the same side. However, the time will come when the cross, or Christianity, will be on one side and Islam on the other.

After the Peace Is Signed—Into Retirement

[Petrovic-Pirocanac] On one local radio station, I heard that tomorrow school is opening in their town. You have been insisting that the priests open the churches, but you said: "I am an atheist, but the people need the church."

[Milovanovic] The VRS is an army of the people. The Serbian people, by some tradition, believe in the teacher and the priest in the village. It has always respected the military officer. In these areas, which we liberated in the last counteroffensive, as I visited the battlefields and the population, I came to the conclusion that these people need somehow to be brought together in large numbers. And today I have been calling upon the bodies of government to open the schools, even if there is only one pupil and two teachers. Why am I insisting that they open the churches? That is one of the ways of bringing the population together. The Serbs are nevertheless a religious people. The priests can speak to those masses and explain the objectives of the fighting, they can console the people. I was not calling for just these two institutions—the schools and the churches. I was also calling for the health service to become active, for certain support organizations to become active, but among the Serbs, without any great reliance on anyone outside. Whoever has supposedly been helping us from outside has done so under certain conditions. You are right, they were a bit astonished even today when I called for the churches to be opened. In the history of the Serbian people, actually since the Battle of Marica, the tragedy of the Serbian people began with the Battle of Marica in 1371, not with the battle of Kosovo. The way we usually say it, ever since Kosovo. It is not since Kosovo, but since Marica, that the Serbs have been fighting for survival. During that entire time, the church has had a large role in preserving the ethnic identity of the Serbs. The church must be remembered for this, but it dare not relieve itself of those obligations in the future either. At the outset of the war, I had quite a bit of criticism about the work of the church, because it seemed to be waiting to see what happened; however, now I think everything is all right. It is true that sometimes I act like a soldier in driving some priest to open the church, but that is all right. After all, we have to begin to bring these little Serbs to the church, to belief in their origin.

[Petrovic-Pirocanac] Over the last two and a half years of these battles, the entire army of the RS has somehow been symbolically represented to the media public through the person of Colonel General Ratko Mladic, commander of the General Staff of the VRS, who is your immediate boss, so to speak. And now on the Krupa-Bihac battlefield I have seen that Mladic and you have behind you a large number of exceptionally well-educated, intelligent, and brave officers. It seems to me that the secret of your success in the General Staff is the mandatory principle of teamwork that you apply, warfare based on teamwork involving a great many intelligent people.

[Milovanovic] First, all the officers who are now in the VRS, who came or who remained, who before the war were serving on the territory of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, have proved their commitment by having remained or having come. But intelligence is nevertheless necessary to prove one's commitment. Accordingly, all of these officers that we have at our disposal have proven that more or less every one of us, as the people might say, can do the work of three, and we are doing it. As for the principal figure in the VRS, Gen. Mladic, he made up the teams. Because he already has a year of experience with war in Knin Krajina, as we then called it, and now the Serbian republic of Krajina [RSK], he selected his own team. That is a team that makes collective decisions. Gen. Mladic is our leader; however; he has never done anything entirely on his own or on the basis of some quick decision of his own, except in combat....

[Petrovic-Pirocanac] Nor do you do so here, it seems to me....

[Milovanovic] Well, right, that is his teaching. There is one thing that is a bit astounding for some people, strange to some people or less strange. The life of this team began at the beginning of the war. It is already nearly a month now that I have not been with Mladic. We talk on the phone, but I always know what he wants, he always knows what I want, we know what our assistants want or what they can do. Regardless of where we are on this planet, we have some kind of connection. A framework of ideas, not ideology, and by and large we are all headed toward a single objective, and that is liberating the Serbian people, that is, creating a Serbian state. And that is that. After all, you see, the Muslims have so far changed teams several times when it comes to the command personnel. So have the Croats. We are still in the same makeup as at the beginning, and that is our advantage. After all, we know how it began and what course it took, and we know how it will end. But they, probably because they did not have any objectives of the war at the outset, changed people, changed teams. And now, for instance, people have emerged as adversaries of Mladic, me, and our associates who do not have our biological maturity, our experience, you name it.

[Petrovic-Pirocanac] At the front, in past days I have unceasingly had the impression that I am in some time machine, that I have been taken directly to the pages of literature describing World War II. I even saw a peasant woman in a remote village when you passed through there the other day. You and your soldiers gave her several cans of food, and I was astounded when she kissed the can. I saw that you yourself, although you are otherwise a very strong person, were affected by the scene. Could we also hear the impressions of the war as seen by Manojlo Milovanovic, ordinary citizen of the RS?

[Milovanovic] The war on the territory of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina began spontaneously. I speak for myself, not on behalf of the General Staff or Supreme Command, I think that this war somehow began in and of itself. First came the awakened passions; however, once we found ourselves in it, we accepted the war. Actually, we had to accept it, because there was no other way out. Our basic objective of the war was to prevent genocide, to prevent a recurrence of 1941. We were aware (I know that at that time the General Staff was working both day and night, although there were few of us), we were, if I want to use a metaphor, like goalies. We made estimates and waited to see where the slaughtering of the Serbian people could occur, and that is where we took steps. We created the army. It is said of us that we took over a part of the former JNA, but that is not true. A part of the former JNA was also taken over by the Muslims and the Croats, and who knows who else, so that this became a people's army. At the outset, we had certain spatial problems. Our fighters came from the area where they were fighting, and it was very difficult to move from one area to another. So that it was very difficult for the General Staff and the command of the corps to concentrate forces. It is the good fortune of the Serbian people and our own, because we are responsible for the way the war is waged, we managed to adapt the strategy to that kind of army. This was an armed populace. That is why you noticed my feelings about the old woman, and not just about her. Wherever I go, or any of my associates, because it is not important how I or my soldier fares in this war. Our basic commitment has to do with how the civilian, that old man, that old woman, child, woman, fares. You have been with me in those villages. Still, it is a horror. Only the Muslims have destroyed everything in an organized way. I even have copies of the orders in which Dudakovic has ordered everything destroyed east of Veliki Radic. They were to leave Veliki Radic, because they needed it for a command post. However, he destroyed even that when he retreated. You have seen that they destroyed everything in an organized way to the north of Spasovi (Kulen Vakuf—interviewer's note). I would say that that is a low level of culture on the part of an army, if we can call it an army at all. You saw the pigs that have been killed and just left there. Small livestock like sheep, whatever they could, they carried away, but what they could not, they killed. Those corpses stayed behind. As the VRS passed, in 90 percent of the cases people returned to their torched homes. As the commander of the United Forces, as they have proclaimed me, I might say that I am interested only in the front, that I go only forward or back, that is, that I operate as a soldier, but it is impossible to perceive it in that simple way. Even that old woman and the people returning to their homes without anything. The army, because it is a typical popular army, actually a kind of armed populace, often gets in the way of us officers in that professional part of the job, because we are bound to the front, but also to what is behind us.

We Do Not Need Advisers at Our Back

[Petrovic-Pirocanac] It is also clear that the presence of "imported" elements is felt on this battlefield in the concept the enemy has of waging war. What is that on the scene that is not a part of the local mentality, what are those influences that you have felt and that you have heard from your officers, there are quite a few examples?

[Milovanovic] I have not only heard, I have seen for myself. The "imported" elements, as you called them, imported in quotes, do not belong in quotes—they actually are imported. It is some tradition of Islam to have the crescent seen both in Paris and in Berlin, and they calculated on the area of the Balkans as the threshold they would cross to enter Europe, in going to the West. I saw terrible pictures in the Drina Valley when the first imported component—the mojahedini—arrived. That is beyond anything remembered by the civilizations up to now: playing soccer with a human head or massacring a corpse. Because you have been with me in past days, you had an opportunity to see some things that cross the line into savagery, cannibalism. For instance, a man who is killed in the normal way in combat, if by accident he remains in their hands, it is a horror, as our people would say, what they do to him. The Serbs are not inclined that way. We simply cannot bear that attitude toward a human being. You were with me when I practically extricated the chief of staff of the 501st Brigade. I think that they never would have done that with any of my officers.

[Petrovic-Pirocanac] Yes, he was wounded, and you sent him to the hospital.

[Milovanovic] He was wounded and carried off to our hospital. They use those imported elements as an excuse, the Muslims referring to those mojahedini. But I can send a message to their fighting men: Let them show me a single mojahedin in the front line. They are the ones who are pushing them in the name of Allah, this one or that one. However, those mojahedini go behind them, and if they accomplish something, they enjoy the fruits of their possible success.

It is the same with the Croats. The Croats also have instructors from the West, mostly from Germany, but I had an occasion only once in this war when a unit captured them. They are also behind the Croats. That is, the strategy of those mojahedini and those Western Catholics is this: We will die to the last Muslim in Bosnia, or we will die to the last Croat in Croatia, but they do not die. They are like instructors, perhaps even some higher force, but they are instigators of warfare. We do not have that, because if one of our volunteers leaves some Orthodox area he goes to the front line to prove himself and he can stay there. Anyway, we do not need advisers at our backs.

Both the Partizans and the Chetniks Are the People, Serbs

[Petrovic-Pirocanac] Some time ago, two or three months ago, Gen. Mladic had a meeting in Banja Luka with one of the key U.S. generals, the "brains" behind the operations of the U.S. Army, which as far as I know is the top level of any meeting between the Serbs and Americans since these problems began in Yugoslavia. This was reported only as a small item in the media. To me, that meeting smacked of something extremely interesting. Can you make any comment on that?

[Milovanovic] I know about that meeting. I also know that I would not have wanted to be in the skin of that general during that meeting (Wesley Clark—interviewer's note). because of what Gen. Mladic said to him and the way that meeting ended. That general realized that he had hit upon the wrong man as far as the Western mentality is concerned. He is a man who works from a set diagram, Mladic is a man with natural intelligence. Mladic immediately got him off balance, and I think that that man immediately regretted having come to that meeting at all.

[Petrovic-Pirocanac] I have the impression that the fighting men of the VRS, right here on this battlefield, as well as on others, have managed to work out some kind of key to the ideological wounds of the past among the Serbs—they have reconciled the Partizans and the chetniks and today they are waging war together in the same army. What, in your opinion, is the essence of that phenomenon of reconciliation?

[Milovanovic] I would not refer to that as a phenomenon of reconciliation, but rather when we decided about the objectives of the war, that was done by the Presidency at the time, by the General Staff (because the Supreme

Command did not exist yet), and by the National Assembly. One of the first objectives was to protect the Serbian people. Accordingly, there are no Partizans and chetniks, because the army sprang up spontaneously. A good portion of the potential for the former JNA, especially equipment and personnel, was used, and we came to the conclusion that if we began to divide into former Partizans and chetniks, then we would not get very far. This is the first war that Serbs are waging in their history, that is, since they came to settle these parts, when they did not fight one another. I do not want to boast, but I think that that is one of the greatest successes of this war, and it is mainly to the credit of the General Staff and the Supreme Command, which was formed later. There possibly have been several accounts settled among Serbs, that happens even in peacetime between individuals, in coffeehouses, but there has been no organized conflict between Serbs. And that has been one of the good things about this war, if there can be anything good about war.

With Us, Everyone Has the Right to Just One Mistake

[Petrovic-Pirocanac] You, Mladic and your team in the General Staff of the VRS, are known to be people who do not allow themselves the luxury of euphoria over a victory nor any underestimation of the adversary. I saw a good portion of this phase of destroying Dudakovic's forces as a very deliberate advance. What do you say to your field officers and army in general when they are beginning an operation? What is the main advice to them?

[Milovanovic] First, every commander can determine the beginning of an operation, but he cannot determine the end. War is the most serious thing a man can experience. In war, even an individual takes responsibility for himself personally, for his actions, for his head. Those who command in war, these are officers or people in command positions, and especially those main ones waging war, as the people customarily say, who are directing the waging of war, cannot do their job unless they are cool and calculated. It is certain that I get nervous, it is certain that commanders get nervous; however, this must never be allowed to show, it must never be seen on the face. Those are a man's difficult personal troubles because there is no other profession, no other social phenomenon, that takes human lives except war. Accordingly, there has to be some absolute self-control here. I can rage when I lie down in my bed, get it off my chest, but this must not be evident at the front. Every move must be calculated to the maximum. We know the price that is paid for mistakes. It is paid in lives.

[Petrovic-Pirocanac] Many officers of the JNA "cracked" psychologically when the disintegration of Yugoslavia began, for many reasons. What was the essential thing that committed you personally to the Serbian side? Can it be said that there is a certain phase in this war, or even a certain moment, when "your eyes were opened"?

[Milovanovic] I personally was helped because the question of whether I would ever be able to return home "opened my eyes," as you put it. And I realized that that depended on me. After all, I could have lived where I was serving without any problems at all. I also had enough years of service so that I could have retired. However, what "opened my eyes" was the question of how I would explain this to my descendants. If my son, my daughter, my grandchildren could not come where I was born. And I think that that was the deciding thing for almost all the officers who responded to the VRS in this war. That family tie of origin binds people to their native place. And there was courage on the part of those who responded to the call, but it also takes a certain courage on the part of those who did not manage to respond. I also consider that courage, not in the sense of courage to contribute to the fight, but personal courage. It takes, after all, a certain special courage to renounce one's people, to renounce one's native place. Finally, science has still not determined whether it takes courage or cowardice to commit suicide. And I do not know whether those officers who did not respond were brave or cowardly. But to renounce one's origins.... We have received terrific support from the Serbs in the diaspora. Something binds those people to their native place. They are living with us, so that what "opens one's eyes" depends on who you are.

[Petrovic-Pirocanac] Finally, General, in addition to thanking you for setting aside time for this interview at the very height of operations, we have both avoided in silence the topic of the relationship between Yugoslavia and the RS. We are living in an area that is very complicated, it is difficult for everyone, and, nevertheless, some message needs to be sent to the public of Yugoslavia.

[Milovanovic] The angrier the Serbs in Serbia get at us, the more we love them.

Muslim Commandos 'Plunder' Croat Villages

LD2501204395 Mostar Croatian Radio Herzeg-Bosna in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 25 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] While the Muslim authorities are paying lip service to the return of Croats to Vares, their army continues to plunder Croat villages in Vares Municipality. Correspondent Mirjana Trutina reports:

[Begin Trutina recording] The most difficult situation is in the Croat village of Pogar. On 23 and 24 January some 30 members of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army entered Croat homes and began looting everything they could lay their hands on: electronic equipment, furniture, roof beams, and so forth. On several occasions they drove off with the booty in an unknown direction. This scenario is being repeated, only now the locality is the village of Sjenokos.

The marauding expedition and outburst of hatred were also registered by a military observer team headed by

Major Marques, who noted that the looting was done by members of the Black Swans, a special operations unit of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army stationed at barracks in the Bukovica zone, in the immediate vicinity of the village of Pogar. This unit was assisted in its plundering by several members of the Bosnia-Herzzgovina Army's military police, who were wearing MP armbands and white belts.

The Croat official in charge of Pogar urged all civilians to seek refuge in the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] camp, where they could be protected by the Pakistani battalion. However, Colonel Badar, commander of the Pakistani battalion, simply ignored this problem without even bothering to register the extent of the plundering. This has made future expeditions of this kind a certainty and has instilled a fresh dose of fear among the Croats of the Vares municipality. [end recording]

Abdic Discusses Situation in Western Bosnia

95BA0092B Belgrade DUGA in Serbo-Croatian 10-23 Dec 94 pp 20-24

[Interview with Fikret Abdic by Novo Scekic; place and date not given: "Alija, Even King Peter Came Back From Albania"]

[FBIS Translated Text] I chased him for days from village to village in Kordun. I always got the same or similar answers from people close to him: "There is no chance today, wait until tomorrow." Or: "Today he is in the main headquarters, be patient, go to the hotel and wait." During that time, I made the rounds of the refugee camps. I also entered the liberated territory of the autonomous province of western Bosnia [APZB], where I talked to the fighting men. I learned that Dizdarevic, the one I quoted in the last issue, had been killed. Asim was badly wounded. Murat had lost his left leg. In Batnoga, a refugee camp with about 35,000 refugees, there are 1,700 pregnant women. Some 70 of them have already given birth. In Cetingrad, just outside Batnoga, a new cemetery has been created. Most of the 200 buried there were children.

I also went looking for Fikret Abdic at his house in Velika Kladusa. In front of the house, four little puppies, and inside the house devastation. Everything that was not nailed down had been taken away. What remained was destroyed. A stray dog that had found shelter here jumped from an unmade bed. Books scattered on the floor. Edvard Kardelj, weighing about 2 kg, gave me a serious look from the floor. A facsimile of his manuscript is on the first page. "When we talk about a one-party and multiparty system...," that is the beginning of the manuscript of the "great visionary" of nonaligned Yugoslavia. In another room, a somewhat lighter book: Kosta Nadj: *Reporti Vrhovnom komandantu* (*Reports to the Commander in Chief*). On the stairs, the cover of Abdic's book *Moj odgovor* (*My Response*). Foreign reporters are not interested in Fikret's house. Nor are they interested in the squalor of refugee life. They want "something else."

After one such return, a note was waiting for me at the hotel: "The interview with Abdic is arranged for 0900 hours tomorrow at his headquarters. A car (a Golf with no license plates) will come for you at 0800 hours. The driver will ask for you at the hotel desk. Greetings, Velkaton."

At exactly 0900 hours I was shaking hands with Fikret Abdic in his headquarters on liberated territory of the autonomous province of western Bosnia. I wished him a happy 29 November. And he responded in kind. I asked him to autograph the cover of his book for me. "The next time we meet, I will give you the rest of it," Fikret told me.

My Tragedy Is That I Know How To Make a Profit

[Scekic] Thanks to BORBA, you became a media figure seven years ago. That is, the scandal of the promissory notes detected quite by accident in a restaurant in Krusevac. Although this was the classic communist formula of removing undesirable people from the business and political scene, two years later you came back to your office on a red carpet. Did that scandal mark the beginning of erosion of Bosnia and Yugoslavia?

[Abdic] Different journalists approached Agrokomerc and me in different ways at that time. By and large, this was a lightning attack on me and Agrokomerc, so that many people wondered: How is it that after such success and that kind of fame they all of a sudden came down with so many sticks and stones on me and Agrokomerc? The fact that I was a competitor to the large systems had no effect on that change of direction. This was a fight for positions in the political hierarchy. No one was seriously concerned about the economy. However, affirmation in the business system did create space for political advancement. In practical terms, no business system of any size existed without its head man being at the same time a politician. I was one of the rare ones who was always in both the Central Committee and the Assembly. Just before the disintegration of Yugoslavia there was a debate about whether the practice should be continued of businessmen also being politicians. Mainly, that practice was being given up with rare exceptions, among whom I was one. I was still in both the Central Committee and the Assembly.

[Scekic] Why, then, was the scandal necessary when you were in good standing in both places?

[Abdic] Following the big business success, circles making decisions about the political elite already saw me at that time as a future prime minister. Everyone knew that except me. That awareness, and my political and business rating, bothered many people. They saw that as a certain kind of favorable treatment for their people, and this is where the car began to break down.

[Scekic] To what extent was this a showdown through you?

[Abdic] It obviously was clear both to them and to the people that one set of politicians was at the end of its power. Branko Mikulic, Raif Dizdarevic, and Hamdija Pozderac had already spent up their credit with the people. It was that way in the other republics as well. I was known as Hamdija's man. Branko had his people, and so did Raif. The fear that another man would come to the top of political power started an avalanche of accusations and insinuations. It was evident even then that the top position was very essential, that getting to the top in politics offered countless privileges without any kind of accountability or responsibility. I was caught in the middle of all that, yet I had absolutely no political ambitions whatsoever.

[Scekic] After the investigatory proceedings and the days spent in prison, you did not learn any lesson from that. You went right back to the same work: business and politics. You won in the first multiparty election, and you gave up your post to someone else?!

[Abdic] It is natural that I should have returned to Agrokomerc. I felt, and it was not just me, but also the community from which I come, that I was the only one who could revive a giant that was at its last breath. No one knew that war would start soon. When multiparty life first began, I joined the political fight, but I let everyone know that I was going to stay in Agrokomerc.

After I received the highest number of votes, 30 percent more than my direct rival, Alija Izetbegovic, it was natural that I should take over the post of top man in Bosnia-Herzegovina. We had a democratic election, but we did not have democratic government. By all standards, the absolute winner should have been president of the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Had I Listened to the Voters, There Would Have Been No War

[Scekic] So why did you not get it?

[Abdic] It was not up to me at that point to go and fight for that post. All that was left was for the Presidency itself to implement the decision of the people, but it did not do that. That indicates that the members of the Presidency at that time were not responsive to the development of democracy, to respect for the will of the voters, to the people. They had a duty to carry out the will of the people, and they did not do so. The political parties, regardless of the will of the people, made the opposite decision, and that was already a sign that democracy was being smothered at the very outset. They opted for Alija. This was Alija's particular desire, and also that of the people around him. When I entered the party, I did not know that Alija had put in the party's official bodies his colleagues from prison, his relatives, his friends, and people who shared his opinion, people sworn to support the concept of a state that no one saw but them. Even then, in meetings of the party's Main Committee, I came into conflict with Alija Izetbegovic. Had that conflict continued, it is very likely that there would have been a shoot-out between my followers and Alija's. When I look back on that period now, I think it perhaps would have been better if that shoot-out had occurred, because what was to happen to us later would not have occurred. But I was thinking at the time that it would not be proper for me to prove to Alija that I was the absolute winner by means of a shoot-out.

[Scekic] You refrained, but in the Main Committee of the SDA [Democratic Action Party] you nevertheless nominated Alija Izetbegovic for president.

[Abdic] True. When in the interest of averting a conflict, underestimating his fanaticism, I supported the nomination, and he was unanimously accepted, people came up to me and congratulated me, emphasizing my magnanimity, my understanding, and all such things. I was amazed. I told these people: Why congratulate me, congratulate Alija! That congratulation convinced me that had I been elected, I would have come into conflict not only with him, but also with the party's entire Main Committee. But I wanted to develop good relations, not only in the party, but also between nationalities and parties with differing political commitment. I never dreamed that the subsequent course of events would prove how disastrous Alija's election was.

[Scekic] The parting of the ways between you and Alija occurred after the Presidency was constituted. I am interested in the key factor in the divorce.

[Abdic] There were several. The first was sincerity. From the very outset, I noticed that he and the people around him were not sincere in their intentions. They said that they had an economic and political program, but they did not. They were deceiving the people. The second factor was the forcible advancement of bad people of Muslim nationality who had a bad role in creating the Agrokomerc scandal. Those people did not bother me; I forgave them publicly back on 19 August 1991 in Velika Kladusa. I felt it was not advisable to advance people who were accustomed to destruction, but they were the ones Alija Izetbegovic preferred. I did not know that he took the election result hard, still less that he and his people, from the very outset, were preparing a political project of fighting me, and later, it would become clear, they would do so even militarily. He installed at the top level of state security former people from Agrokomerc who followed me, bugged me, and caricatured my statements and proposals. The same thing was done in financial institutions. Even though their campaign slogan had been: "Let us help Agrokomerc"—they did not give a single dinar for its recovery. The conflict culminated when Alija put his people in top posts in western Bosnia. He pushed away all those who had opposed him, including Adil Zulfikarpasic. My emergence and my thinking about politics and the economy detracted from his image, and that bothered him the most. In his thinking and that of his ilk, Alija would prosper only if Fikret Abdic was humiliated. They did not realize that alongside a prosperous Fikret they would have prospered still more.

All of My Ideas Are Treasonous to Alija

[Scekic] In a feature article published by OSLOBODJENJE of Sarajevo, you openly opposed Alija's policy. What led you to use even the pages of the press to oppose a policy which, it would later be evident, was disastrous for all the nationalities in Bosnia?

[Abdic] I could no longer keep silent about his fiery speeches, which irritated the other nationalities and confused honest Muslims. I favored a more moderate approach to solving the problem. I prevailed upon others as much as I could. All of my proposals, rational approaches to the increasingly tense situation, were interpreted as treason, a failure to respect the party's basic principles, or deprecation of the identity of the Muslim people. When I collected all of my disagreements, approaches, and the proposals that I had published in that feature article in a book that appeared on the eve of the party's congress, those who were levelheaded warned me that its appearance would be interpreted as an attempt to bring down Alija Izetbegovic. My approach was and still is that Bosnia can be straightened out only in an agreement with the other two nationalities. They have stubbornly advocated the integral and indivisible nature of Bosnia-Herzegovina. I called for us to sit down with the Serbs and Croats and draw up a platform that we would support in the congress, but they backed off, putting blind trust in their leader. I told them that their leader would not pull them out of this situation and did not want to, but that the strength of the entire organization of the body of Muslims could pull them out of the ethnic mud in which they were mired. I went to the speaker's stand 12 times, trying to guide the course of the congress in a positive direction. Unfortunately, they demonstrated their power, which is today proving to be weakness.

[Scekic] You returned to western Bosnia with the intention of preserving the peace at least here?

[Abdic] Exactly right. By my presence, in view of my reputation in this region, I eliminated war for all practical purposes except on the Grabez Plateau. When I arrived in Velika Kladusa on 2 September of last year, I asked my associate Asim Dizdarevic: "What is the food situation?" "It is not as bad as we expected it would be," he replied. Immediately thereafter we provided accommodations for the French battalion, we furnished the battalion with our vehicles, and even then we were taking care of the shortages in feeding the population.

[Scekic] How did Sarajevo look upon your correct relations with the Serbs and Croats?

[Abdic] Alija and his closest associates Silajdzic and Ganic interpreted that relationship of mine as betrayal of the Muslim people. However, I was the only one able to get the Croats to allow goods to be loaded, and from the Serbs I got permission to carry those same goods across their territory. That prestige of mine with the Serbs and Croats has been represented in the Sarajevo media as betrayal of the nation and shameful collaboration with chetniks and ustashi.

[Scekic] Then came your independent contacts with representatives of the international community.

[Abdic] I maintained contacts with the international community through their representatives Owen and Stoltenberg. Owen came to see me twice, and later he sent his emissary to ask for my consent to the negotiations that were being conducted in Geneva. We offered our voice by telephone. These contacts were dying out more and more, and I was inclined to believe that this was negligence, but then, when they ceased altogether, I saw that this was the work of Alija Izetbegovic, who did not want a constructive and peaceful solution to the Bosnian crisis.

A Great Victory Over His Own People

[Scekic] When did you undertake to establish the autonomous province of western Bosnia?

[Abdic] When I finally saw that Alija and his associates did not want peace, but war. The initiative to establish the APZB was a necessity. The will of the people in the referendum was expressed by a large majority. In October 1993, we signed the Statement with the Croats, and immediately thereafter the Declaration with the Serbs. Franjo Tudjman and Slobodan Milosevic were present when these documents were signed. I hoped that that gesture would give an additional guarantee to the documents that were signed, and also give them lasting validity. It was only after that that the campaign against me was started in Sarajevo. The Sarajevo media, obedient servants, used any means at hand to discredit me with my own people.

[Scekic] How is the 5th Corps behaving at this point?

[Abdic] At that time, 80 percent of those who signed the Initiative for formation of the autonomous province were members of the 5th Corps. All the people from abroad welcomed our position, and we received the support of numerous Muslims in the diaspora. Izetbegovic started up his propaganda machine for the umpteenth time, portrayed what we wanted upside down, condemned our position, sent extremists into our region by helicopter, and developed enmity within our own people. Drekovic proved to be weak, and he was removed. They wanted someone stronger, and they found Atif Dudakovic, who immediately entered upon a showdown with his own people. He encountered the first resistance at Skokovi, and immediately afterward at Johovica as well. People went out empty-handed in the face of the armed 5th Corps and halted their further advance with their bodies. The first casualties also occurred, and our armed resistance began at that time.

[Scekic] Only when the conflict took on broader dimensions did the international community emerge as a factor trying to calm or resolve the dispute that had arisen between Muslims.

[Abdic] Alija formed a state delegation and sent it to western Bosnia through the United Nations, supposedly to calm things down. The delegation consisted of the police minister, the army commander Rasim Delic, and Reis Ceric, the religious leader. Just imagine: a commission of the Presidency with no members of the Presidency?! The policeman gives guidance to the police, the commander to the army, and the religious man calls upon the believers to engage in fratricidal warfare!

[Scekic] While you were offering resistance to the 5th Corps, in Washington the Croats and Muslims were signing the so-called Washington Agreement at the highest level to create the federation of Muslims and Croats without Serbs.

[Abdic] At that time, we accepted that agreement. We felt that even within that framework we would find solutions to the crisis in our region. However, they were not interested in our opinion, their interest was in defeating us militarily so that they could redirect their forces toward the Srpska republic in the east and southeast and thus connect up with the 7th Corps and achieve some kind of completeness, that is, link up with the remainder controlled by the Muslim army. That is why they were in a hurry, and that is why their attack was violent.

[Scekic] The Sarajevo media represented the entrance of the 5th Corps into Velika Kladusa as a magnificent victory. Those who know you well say that you did not want to offer any strong resistance.

[Abdic] The offensive near Pecingrad was decisive for the morale of our fighting men. We had not developed a hatred of our own people, they had. We believed that a solution would come through negotiations, they through war. When the defenders of the autonomous province saw that there was no end to the fight to defend their ideas, that they were behaving bestially toward the prisoners, that they were abusing the truce concluded between the Serbs and Muslims, that the international community had openly taken the side of Alija Izetbegovic, and that the 5th Corps was bent on a brutal showdown with members of National Defense, our army, with no orders from the Command, decided to retreat with the people, expecting that the international community and Sarajevo authorities would react and undertake to resolve the dispute through peaceful processes. Unfortunately, the anticipated reaction never came. The conquest of their own people was turned into an unprecedented celebration. There was a shower of decorations and promotions. Atif Dudakovic was promoted to the rank of general for the shame of having fought his own people. We withdrew in the belief that we had not been defeated.

An Ensemble of Irresponsible, Frivolous, and Incompetent People

[Scekic] For several months now, about 80,000 refugees in the open air and in "chicken houses" have been delivering a public lecture to Alija and the world: Even life in exile is more tolerable than life in Alija's "democratic and sovereign Bosnia." Was that a planned course in ethics?

[Abdic] For most of the displaced persons, it was. That number would have been still greater if the 5th Corps had not closed the borders of the APZB. There were even people who believed that their refugee status would be recognized in some country of West Europe. That exodus, which we supported, was opposed openly and in an organized way by the international community at the request of the Sarajevo authorities. The international community's attempt to return the people to their homes degenerated into an incident and did not succeed. Faced with all the facts, and under the threat of the coming winter, we decided to return to our homes.

[Scekic] How do you explain Alija's hurry to destroy as soon as possible the autonomous province, which had been favored by the people in a referendum?

[Abdic] He expected that in the offensive against the Serbs he would achieve the same result he had achieved with us. That is where he miscalculated. He forgot that the army of the Srpska republic is no longer interested in what the international community thinks. Carried away by the "glory" they had achieved in the fight against us, they undertook an assault, and they had splendid results the first two days, and then they experienced a disastrous defeat in the counteroffensive. After the first successes of the 5th Corps, the United States sent its compliments to the Sarajevo authorities, asserting that the federation had taken on life, and Ejup Ganic appeared on television to say "it is now evident that the Serbs are no match for us, that we are militarily able, and that we have only one direction, and that is only forward." In a few days, the Serbs persuaded him that he could also go backward. The Serbian counteroffensive began, and Ejup Ganic forgot what he had said a few days before and issued an appeal in an alarming voice to Butrus-Ghali, Yasushi Akashi, Michael Rose, and NATO to stop the Serbian counteroffensive. This supports the assertion that the Muslim people are being led into the abyss by an ensemble of frivolous, irresponsible, and incompetent people.

They Lost When They Began To Boast

[Scekic] Your decision to return coincides with the Serbian counteroffensive against Bihac.

[Abdic] We are sorry if our decision to return is associated with the Serbian counteroffensive. It is a public secret that there are big disagreements in Alija Izetbegovic's private state and private leadership. We are not taking advantage of that. Our return was implicit in the very fact that we left. We immediately tested the international community, and became convinced of its "peaceful" policy from our own example. When the barriers were set up in Turanj, the whole world saw the intentions of the "peacemakers" in western Bosnia. Both the refugees and those who stayed became convinced once and for all of the lies and deceptions of the 5th Corps and the source of its orders. The balance sheet of the disastrous policy is getting horrible and long. The numbers are being concealed, but there are eyewitnesses who are coming up to us more and more every day and giving testimony to the various atrocities of the 5th Corps.

[Scekic] You decided to return militarily. You have 10,000 volunteers against the 5th Corps, which numbers more than 25,000 well-trained and armed soldiers of Atif Dudakovic. Does that mean that you have given up on the peaceful solution you always advocated?

[Abdic] Not at all. There have been two options ever since the conflict broke out in Bosnia: ours—resolving the dispute peacefully through negotiations, and theirs—resolving disputes through armed conflicts to the point of eradication. I have resolved all the conflicts with both the Croats and the Serbs through negotiations. The outcome is well-known to everyone: We have a Statement signed with the Croats and a Declaration signed with the Serbs. For the APZB, these two documents have always been in effect. Now that the Serbs retaliated fiercely, the Muslim government is seeking negotiations. They are supposedly offering a peace, but that peace, experience has shown, was never sincere and was used by them only to consolidate for a new attack. Finally, it should now be clear to everyone that the problem around Bihac can be solved only on the platform of the Declaration drawn up between the APZB and the Srpska republic. Objectively, only Yasushi Akashi and the factors in the field, who are the reality of this moment, and that means us and the Srpska republic, can solve this problem. The development of the situation in the field has pushed Sarajevo policy to the very periphery.

[Scekic] Why?

[Abdic] They are blaming the international community for their political and military defeat. Now they are calling upon them to act as intermediaries in the negotiations, and that means that they accept my option. I sent a letter to Akashi and called for us to meet and seek a solution for the APZB, but without Alija Izetbegovic and those who do his bidding. I will not believe that it is going to remain that way to the end, but I believe that even Akashi is not ready at this point to respond to my invitation, because then he would have no chance at all to talk to Alija, Haris, and Ejup. They have said that they do not accept either the Statement or the Declaration, because this represents peace for Bihac, but neither for Prijedor, which is now under Serbian control. Today they want to solve Bihac separately from the other battlefields. What changes are these? And now the Srpska republic says that it does not want partial solutions, but it wants a lasting peace in all areas. When we established a separate peace, then Alija was against it. When they got into a blind alley with an offensive, they offered a separate peace, and they are holding on to all the other offensives in the field. The Srpska republic no longer trusts them and is calling for peace to be concluded over the entire territory so that only after peace has been concluded would they be able to negotiate about the issues in dispute.

[Scekic] And now tell us where your position is here.

[Abdic] I lay out the facts altogether realistically. On the basis of those facts, I put together a mosaic and I arrive at a military, political, and economic analysis of the situation in the autonomous province of western Bosnia. In that analysis, I give a bad grade to the Sarajevo authorities. Because that is a Muslim leadership, and I am a Muslim, people have come to believe that as soon as someone thinks differently from Alija, he is a traitor to his people. I am simply a realistic man, and everything I do, I do in the interest of my people, not against it. I repeat: From the very outset, when the crisis broke out, I have looked for a definitive solution to the Bosnian crisis through negotiations, while they have done so through war. They were proud when they had the results of the offensive. They simply cannot do without that shameful boasting, whether the international organizations like it or not. Those are facts which must be borne in mind. As soon as they are borne in mind, we will be part of the game.

The People From Buzim Defend Kladusa From the People From Kladusa

[Scekic] But you still have not been included in the negotiations.

[Abdic] Not directly, but indirectly we have. Now that they see that they have no chance of achieving their objectives by fighting, they say that they are ready to negotiate, but they are not ready to accept Fikret Abdic's option. And Fikret Abdic's option, forgive me for having to repeat it even a hundred times if need be, has been peace and negotiations since the very beginning of the crisis. Accordingly, they have no chance of calling that position into question, they have to accept it. I would remind you only that with the signature of the Statement with the Croatian Republic of Herceg-Bosna we prevented conflicts with the Croats in the autonomous province of western Bosnia, while for six months war raged between the Muslims and Croats in other areas, and that conflict was halted only with the signing of the Washington Agreement. And now you see the absurdity. Immediately after the statement was signed, a reason was found for waging war against the APZB, supposedly so that the federation of Muslims and Croats would take on life?! We accepted the agreement, but we demanded that our autonomy be accepted within the framework of the federation. That did not suit them, and so they wanted to stifle the democratic choice of the people in a brutal showdown.

[Scekic] National Defense is recording military successes hour by hour. Through military operations, you have managed to restore a good part of the territory of the APZB. Who made the decision to use weapons to win the right to return to your homes?

[Abdic] The people saw that there was no chance of bringing about conditions for them to go back by political means. By their departure, they sent a message to the world that they did not want to wage war. Many of them thought that they would be able to go off to West Europe and that time would work for their return. The barrier was set up in front of their noses, and they could not go forward. They cannot survive here where they are, because the conditions do not support life. Which means that they have to go back. The only means they had for going back was the weapon they carried with them when they withdrew. The basic motivation for returning is the awareness that that is their only choice. To succeed or to die, there is no third solution. The worst possible way. Because of their position, I have pleaded in press releases, proclamations, and statements to the public for the 5th Corps to realize that it makes no sense to wage war against these suffering people and for it to participate in their return through its passive resistance. To the great misfortune of both sides, the 5th Corps offered fierce resistance. It thinks it is fighting for an internationally recognized state, but under that flag it is actually fighting for booty. And the booty is the property of the people who fled. To an ordinary man who does not know the details, there is no explanation as to why the people from Buzim are fighting against the people from Kladusa with such great force and not allowing them to enter their own city. They took everything away from them and they want to hold on to it for dear life. Our objective is to get to our homes with as few casualties and as little destruction as possible.

The Time Has Come for Life Worthy of a Human Being

[Scekic] How do you behave toward those members of the 5th Corps who surrender or whom you capture?

[Abdic] After a procedure proper to a legal state, instead of amnesty we offer them a return home. We do not need a member of the 5th Corps to surrender so as to fight on our side against those soldiers of the 5th Corps who still have not done so. We are not offering amnesty, as the Sarajevo authorities have offered us. We let them go home, not only the men, but also the officers, because we do not accept the argument that we are at odds in western Bosnia. We were set at odds by the Sarajevo authorities, and one day they must take responsibility for this bloody conflict that the people did not want.

[Scekic] No one has so far been seriously concerned with western Bosnia, but now the eyes of the world are fixed on it.

[Abdic] I have been seriously concerned with western Bosnia, because I am bound to it by my umbilical cord. All of my successes, all of my memories are associated with this region and these people. I am not interested in my house, which today is horrifying many people. I get many letters, and mainly they all contain the same question: "Mr. President, did you deserve this from your own people?" I, who created better houses than mine for thousands of people, have had the experience of everything in it being destroyed. This was done by the extremists of the 5th Corps. However, that does not interest me. Rebuilding my house is the last thing with which I am concerned. I am interested in western Bosnia, peaceful and industrious. Had there been a possibility of leaving it, only the 5th Corps Command and a few thousand extremists sent into it from outside would have remained in western Bosnia.

[Scekic] And in conclusion, I get the impression that the Muslim intelligentsia is still not taking a position concerning the conflict between Muslims.

[Abdic] The Helsinki Human Rights Commission also got that impression. They issued an open message to the Muslim intellectuals to speak out as soon as possible and raise their voice against the increasingly pronounced emergence of fundamentalism. I still have not heard of anyone speaking out in the press or over radio or television. In all my statements over radio and television and in the press, I have openly pointed out the ever greater danger of fundamentalism, integralism, extremism. When that evil appears, it leaves behind numerous human casualties and immense destruction of property. Time ran out long ago, but it still is not too late to conclude peace and begin a life worthy of a human being.

Bosnian Army Official on Abdic's Agents

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[Interview with Osman "Hego" Omanovic, colonel in the 5th Corps of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina, by Edo Popovic in Zagreb; date not given: "Mehmed Kostic, Former Colonel in the Yugoslav People's Army, Who Destroyed Topusko in 1991, Controls a Network of Fikret Abdic's Secret Agents From Zagreb!"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Osman "Hego" Omanovic, a colonel in the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina, entered the war on 26 May 1991 in Topusko, where he lived. Later, when he transferred to the 129th Karlovac Brigade, they entered in his documents that in Topusko he was a member of the 2d A Brigade. He fought in the Croatian Army [HV] until 30 May 1992. He was in Topusko, Glina, Vidusevac, over the entire Kupa Valley front, including Karlovac, Rjecica, Kobilic.... On Easter 1992, he left for the Kupres battlefield with 150 volunteers. In June 1992, with 620 fighting men, mainly Krajina natives from Prijedor, Kozarac, Kladusa, Bihac, and Kljuc, he went to Travnik in Bosnia-Herzegovina. His intention was to make a breakthrough from Jajce to Bihac. His unit was in Jajce until it fell on 1 November 1992.

In the withdrawal from the city, units of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina disabled two hydroelectric power plants, and for that reason the Serbs declared Omanovic a war criminal.

Before its arrival in Jajce, that unit took part in the attempt to break the blockade of Gorazde. Its last mission in Jajce was to extricate 400 wounded and hospital personnel. After that, Omanovic went to the Bihac District at his own request.

"I saw that conflicts between the Croats and Muslims were inevitable in the Travnik region, and I did not want to take part in that, so I sent a report to the headquarters of the Supreme Command, that is, to Sefer Halilovic, chief of staff at that time, in which I asked to be discharged. Then I was commander of the 1st Bosanska Krajina Brigade. At that time, there also existed the 7th Bosanska Krajina Brigade, which was commanded by Fikret Cuskic. Following the fall of Jajce, there was a reorganization in the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and those two units were merged into a single brigade, today the now legendary 17th Krajina Brigade. Cuskic insisted that I stay with him in the unit, but I refused. As I say, I was unable to prevent the conflict between Croats and Muslims, which pained me."

In the Bihac District, which Omanovic reached on foot from Zagreb with 10 fighting men, he first commanded the 1st Battalion of the 521st Brigade, which was operating in the area of Bosanska Bojna. He left that post, because the influence of Fikret Abdic in western Bosnia at that time prevented him from doing his job properly.

"I asked for commando operations to be conducted in the occupied area of Croatia, for the big warehouse to be blown up at the Sivac Mine on Petrova Gora, but that was not approved. If we had done that at the time, the chetniks would have collided with the people from Velika Kladusa, and then Abdic would not have been able to do what he is doing today. People would then have realized what a chetnik is."

Omanovic was later appointed an operative in the 527th Brigade of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina, where he remained until proclamation of the Autonomous Province of Western Bosnia [APZB] on 27 September 1993. What Abdic was aiming at was clear even before that, he says. "Even at that time Abdic had his people in the 521st and 527th Brigades, and he did what he liked. The commander of the 521st Brigade was Izet Latic, Abdic's man, and he made Fikret 'Kum' Keserovic commander of the 527th Brigade."

In early October 1993, Omanovic was appointed commander of the 527th Brigade, that is, that part of it which remained loyal to the government in Sarajevo. After that, he commanded the special-purpose unit. We met with him during his brief stay in Zagreb, before he returned to Bihac. Asked how he would get to Bihac, Omanovic replied laconically: "On foot."

[Omanovic] You know what, it pains me that the man who destroyed Topusko in 1991, who occupied Topusko with what was then the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army], who occupied the city with his unit, I am talking about JNA Colonel Mehmed Kostic, is today working in Zagreb. We have reliable information that the JNA left under an order signed by General Adzic, and everything was to be put at the service of Fikret Abdic. That document is in my possession. Bosanska Bojna fell because of it.

Some 30 of Abdic's policemen came into that village the day before the fall with just one mission: When the chetniks attacked, they fled, spreading panic. Later, those policemen were arrested, but they were released thanks to the intervention of Bozidar Sicel.

Three days ago, I saw Kostic here in Zagreb on Jelacicev Square. He was accompanied by Mehmed Latic, a secretary in Abdic's government. Both are at the very top of Abdic's pyramid. Abdic's intelligence service was established according to Kostic's "formula." That was his principal assignment. It bothers me that the Croatian authorities look on as that war criminal from the standpoint of both the Croats and the Muslims walks free in Zagreb. I do not know what the problem is: Either they do not know or they do not want to know.

[Popovic] According to my information, Armin Pohara was also in Jajce before the fall. What was he doing there?

[Omanovic] Pohara is known to have been in Bosanski Brod, Jajce, Mostar.... He deserves a lot of the credit for the conflicts between the Croats and Muslims, all of which he did according to Abdic's orders. The two of them had a meeting in Mostar with people of like mind on the Croatian side, and then the conflict between the Croats and Muslims began. Those people who were killed, both Croats and Muslims, did not know about the background of the conflict. But the Croatian intelligence services should have known about that meeting, they could have had something more to say about it.

[Popovic] How important are Abdic's fighting men in this offensive against the Bihac District?

[Omanovic] Abdic's forces, and according to our reports there are about 5,000 of them, have an important role in this offensive. For one thing, because they are very familiar with the terrain. And motivation? They have been put in a situation with no way out. Abdic separated families, some were in Batnoga, some in Turanj, they were forbidden to see one another, and all of this just so Abdic could manipulate them more easily. It is of interest, however, that 10,000 badges saying "Autonomous Province of Western Bosnia," which are also worn by the chetniks, were made in the Sana Factory in Bosanski Novi. It is presented to the world as a conflict in which Abdic's forces are taking part and that this is a conflict between Muslims. Abdic's units are the forward element, they are the first to die and serve as guides for the chetniks from Serbia and from the occupied parts of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Popovic] Is the report true that in late September of this year Fikret Abdic, Milan Martic, and Zeljko "Arkan" Raznatovic had a meeting in Bosanski Petrovac and that Abdic gave Martic 10 million German marks [DM] at that time to equip and arm Serbian units?

[Omanovic] The report is altogether accurate. I will even tell you who carried the money. This was Milan Stevanovic, a surgeon from Duesseldorf. He personally brought the money from Germany. Afterward, Abdic remained alone with Arkan, but we do not have reliable information about that conversation.

[Popovic] Where did all the money come from?

[Omanovic] Abdic has plundered the Bosnian Muslims on a large scale during the war, especially people from Cazin Krajina. Today, Abdic has seven enterprises in Austria, Italy, and Germany.... One is Zamako in Toronto, whose managing director is Zoran Dimitrijevic, a major in the former JNA who worked in the intelligence sector. We know that Dimitrijevic purchased and delivered special equipment that was to be used in assassinations of members of the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Those goods reached Rijeka from Toronto. We know who picked up the goods. They were supposed to go to Karlovac, to Muhamed Abdic, Fikret's brother, who was supposed to deliver them to the assassins. This was a group of some 12 operatives, and we know six of them.

[Popovic] And what about Croatia, are there Abdic's enterprises here?

[Omanovic] Some of Abdic's money flows in here. It is taken over by his brother Muhamed, who lives in Karlovac, and he redistributes it. At the same time, Hase Celebic, brother of Fikret Celebic, once a Russian spy, is responsible for affairs in Vienna. He carries money from Vienna to Hungary, where he delivers it to his brother. The couriers also include Advija Omanovic and his brother Hasib.

Fikret Celebic was chief of Abdic's police. Today, he lives in Novi Sad, where his wife is from. At the Austrian-Hungarian border, he regularly meets his brother, who gives him money and written reports containing intelligence data.

[Popovic] Do you know where Fikret Abdic lives?

[Omanovic] Officially, his residence is the Toplice Hotel in Topusko. He goes there from time to time. He also spends time in Bosansko Grahovo, Drvar, Pale, Banja Luka, Vojnic.... No important meeting between the Croatian and Bosnian Serbs has taken place without Fikret Abdic. His wife, Fazila, is responsible for propaganda: She turns up among the fighting men and displaced persons and gives them moral support. She is always accompanied by well-paid agitators. His strongest points of support in Croatia are in Karlovac and Rijeka. His son, who handles Abdic's money in Vienna, lives in his villa in Opatija. Abdic also has a bank in Vienna, where Biba Zukanovic is managing director. Abdic's son is no longer in evidence, probably for security reasons, so communication between Vienna and Croatia takes place today through other channels. Couriers, lower-caliber people, are used for this. We know the entire network.

[Popovic] How come Abdic has this tie with the Serbs, especially with Martic and the Croatian Serbs?

[Omanovic] Those are kinship ties. Abdic's daughter is married to Milan Martic's nephew. Do you remember when Martic was captured in Bosanska Krupa in 1992? It was at the request of Fikret Abdic that he was released. And Abdic's sister is married to Rajko Stevic, a former major in the JNA, who worked in the intelligence service. Stevic is coordinator among Belgrade, Karadzic, and Abdic. Abdic does what Belgrade tells him to do. At one time, one could leave the APZB only with Stevic's signature. Later, Stevic broadened that authority to Abdic and certain other people like Celebija, Alibegic, and so on.

[Popovic] Alibegic?

[Omanovic] Alibegic established and commanded the group that was supposed to assassinate members of the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina. They planned to do it in Croatia. The assassination, according to what we have learned, was supposed to be carried out in a mosque or in one of the Zagreb hotels where members of the Presidency were staying. President Izetbegovic, Haris Silajdzic, Ejup Ganic, and Irfan Ljubijankic were the assassins' targets.

Alibegic studied in Moscow, he was recruited by the KGB, and in 1968 when the KOS [Counterintelligence Service] uncovered him, he had a choice between a bullet and work for KOS. He decided on KOS. He has worked for them since that time.

[Popovic] Have you forgotten anyone on Abdic's team?

[Omanovic] It is not possible on this occasion to count them all. And there are several reasons for that.... One of them is Saban Husic. Until 1992, he was the main load dispatcher at Agrokomerc for Croatia, headquartered in Rijeka. That was only his cover for the intelligence work he did, and the dispatcher's job was actually performed by Muhamed Skrgic, who now manages Abdic's affairs in Slovenia. Husic is in Rijeka to this day, and he comes to Karlovac to consult with Abdic's brother at least twice a week. Husic offered to work for us, he brought me some data on Abdic and his people. Those data were very old and nonessential, things we had known for a long time. I realized this was an attempt to infiltrate our service. I contacted him only once, he gave me those data, and it was immediately clear to me what he wanted. We took advantage of him and threw him bait.

That is, he again tried to contact me through one of my colleagues, whom I told to tell him that I was not around, that I had gone on a trip. And when Husic tried to contact me, my colleague made up a story and told him that I had gone on a trip with 30 people. The next day, Banja Luka television reported that Osman Omanovic was somewhere on Petrova Gora with 30 people. Do I have to tell you anything more? He is active even today in Abdic's intelligence service, he is still gathering information for him. He lives in Rijeka.

Then there are also Mujaga Mujagic and Braco Redzic, medical technicians. Both are in Zagreb at the moment. During 1992 and 1993, they organized voluntary blood donations for the chetniks in Velika Kladusa. The donors were bused from Kladusa [passage illegible]. Saniteks of Velika Kladusa, a medical supply factory, concluded a four-year contract with the chetniks for medical supplies. The chetniks in return furnished power to Kladusa and the factory. The factory's managing director was Ahmet Zalic. Zalic is in the occupied areas of Croatia today.

[Popovic] Let us go back to the situation in Bihac at the moment. How do you see it?

[Omanovic] They should not raise their hands and give up. There is always some way out. Gen. Dudakovic knows what to do, and I believe he will find that way out. If I were in command, I would leave Velika Kladusa, pull out some of the forces, and secure Bihac. That way, Bihac could defend itself for another five or six months. This way, the situation is really serious; according to recent reports more than 40,000 chetniks are engaged in that area, and the front is only 35 km long. Unless a part of the front is relinquished, Bihac cannot hold out more than a week. In any case, one part must be given up.

[Popovic] Can the Croatian Army help the Bihac District? Without entering into political assessments, how could Croatia help Bihac?

[Omanovic] Because I know the chetniks well and the way they wage war, and because I know the terrain, I guarantee that the area from Zadar to Sisak would be liberated in a week if Croatia came into the battle. From Sisak via Zirovac and Bosansko Bojna, the Croatian Army would join up with units of the 5th Corps of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina with relative ease. This could be done equally well along the line Ogulin-Plaski-Dreznik-Vaganac-Licko Petrovo Selo-Bihac. Looking at it militarily, this is the right moment for action of the Croatian Army. Later on the risk of the mission and the casualties will be much greater.

Serb 'Provocations' Reported on 4th Corps Front

AU2601150595 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 26 Jan 95

[Report by the 4th Corps Information Service]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] During the past 24 hours the Serbo-Montenegrin aggressor and Karadzic's chetniks continued with provocations along the 4th Corps defense lines. The provocations were particularly reported on the Konjic front, where the aggressor opened antiaircraft fire from Guci and [name indistinct], while he used small arms from Rankovici and Bukove Glave to target the defense positions in (?Dzajica Ravni). The Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 4th Corps members did not respond to the provocations.

Although they did not respond to the enemy provocations, the 4th Corps members actively monitored the enemy's movements on the temporarily occupied territory. They reported sighting loaded horses, which the Serbo-Montenegrin aggressor is using to supply his troops with food and material-technical equipment, moving from the direction of Jarce toward Bukove Glave. This confirms the suspicion that the chetniks will not desist from further attacks on the Neretva River valley.

In the southern part of the 4th Corps theater of operations, the day passed calmly without any activity on the part of the Serbo-Montenegrin aggressor. [passage omitted]

Reports of Helicopter Overflights on Brcko Front

AU2601202295 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 26 Jan 95

[Report by Hamid Deronjic from Bihac]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Serbian aggressor has not been quiet in the past 24 hours on the Brcko front. The chetniks continued with small arms provocations, and today again intensified sniper activity, particularly in the region of Vranovaca. The increasingly frequent activities of the aggressor's reconnaissance and sabotage groups were today again a standard feature. At around 0900 [0800 GMT], the members of the 108th Motorized Brigade on the central part of the front repulsed a strong, chetnik, black-uniformed sabotage group.

In the past 24 hours, the enemy on the Brcko front has been regrouping his forces. Several helicopter overflights were reported overnight, one of which landed at the aggressor stronghold in the region of Delijina Ravan, while movements of aggressor tanks were reported this afternoon in the region of Ulice.

Criticism of Tudjman Award to Ustasha

95P20411A

[FBIS Media Note] In its 5 December issue, the Split independent weekly FERAL TRIBUNE reported that during a visit to Argentina, Croatian President Franjo Tudjman had conferred a high Croatian decoration, the Order of Prince Trpimir, on Ivo Rojnica. The weekly described Rojnica as a commander in the ustasha, the World War II Croatian fascist organization, and the author of racial decrees in the pro-Axis Independent State of Croatia (NDH). Thus, FERAL TRIBUNE observed, only a few weeks after he had marked the 50th anniversary of the victory over fascism, Tudjman awarded a high Croatian order to a man who "daily implemented fascist rule" in the Croatian town of Dubrovnik, governing it with racist laws and "protecting it from Jews and other enemies" with regulations he signed personally, and who "declared 50 years later" that whatever he had done in 1941, he would do again.

FERAL TRIBUNE noted that Rojnica had already been rewarded for "everything he had done for Croatia" in 1993, when he was appointed ambassador to Argentina, an appointment that was "silently withdrawn" following the weekly's protests at the time. FERAL TRIBUNE illustrated its article with a photograph of Rojnica and "other servants of the occupier" on the occasion of the takeover of Dubrovnik municipality by the ustasha in 1941.

The 13 December issue of the progovernment Zagreb weekly DANAS defended Rojnica, citing him as stating that "one cannot rehabilitate an era that cost Europe 50 million lives" and that the NDH "should be left alone" until the historical truth is established. Rojnica, according to DANAS, saw the campaign against his appointment as ambassador as a "plot from Croatia" linked to Josip Manolic and Stipe Mesic, breakaway members of the ruling Croatian Democratic Community (HDZ) who founded the Croatian Independent Democrats (HND) in April 1994. DANAS explained Rojnica's World War II decree introducing the fascist salute among ustasha members as being in accord with the spirit of the time. According to DANAS, Rojnica justified the decree by citing Ante Pavelic, the ruler of the NDH, who allegedly said that although the ustasha movement was neither fascist nor Nazi "we are in the same bloc, and thus I must salute with a raised and extended right arm."

Assembly 'Overwhelmingly' Backs UN Withdrawal

AU2701104295 Paris AFP in English 1023 GMT 27 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Jan 27 (AFP)—The Croatian Parliament on Friday [27 January] overwhelmingly backed President Franjo Tudjman's insistence that UN troops must withdraw when their peacekeeping mandate expires on March 31.

The assembly approved the motion that the world body's 15,000 troops must leave with just one vote against and two abstentions.

A statement said that the parliament "has noted that the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) has not accomplished its task and consequently backs the demand made by President Franjo Tudjman for the 'blue helmets' to withdraw."

Martic Insists on Krajina's Independence

AU2401201795 Belgrade NEDELJNA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 21-22 Jan 95 p 3

[Interview with Milan Martic, president of the republic of Serbian Krajina, by Snezana Pokrajac-Stamatovic; place and date not given: "We Believe in Serbian Support"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The republic of Serbian Krajina this month was confronted with two new moments important in the search for a solution to the problem between Croatia and Krajina. Franjo Tudjman has denied hospitality to the UN Protection Force (the "blue helmets" should leave Croatia by 31 March 1995) and the UN Security Council has by Resolution No. 970 made it a condition for the removal of the economical blockade against the republic of Serbian Krajina that the partial suspension of the sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia be prolonged. Krajina President Milan Martic said for BORBA that Tudjman's move was "a bad and inconsiderate act toward his own people."

[Martic] I do not think that Croatia is entitled to deny hospitality to the UN Protection Force, since the UN Protection Force was allowed to come to the former Yugoslavia by Croatia, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and the republic of Serbian Krajina. In other words, three parties participated in accepting the peacekeeping forces and only one wants to cancel them. I am sure that Croatia and its president did not make this decision by themselves. There was most likely a wink, probably from Germany as its permanent sponsor. By this decision, strong pressure will be exerted on Serbia and Yugoslavia in the next three months with the aim that it recognizes Croatia within its borders drawn after World War II, denies any help for Krajina, including humanitarian aid, and stops the transfer of goods from the eastern part of Slavonia and Baranja toward the southern and western parts of Krajina. Tudjman was probably forced to take this step because of his instable position in Croatia, since there are social riots and a bad economic situation. Apart from that, there is permanent pressure by the Croatian opposition because Croatia lost one-third of its prewar territory. The Croatian president practically announced a war to the republic of Serbian Krajina in order to calm both his position and the opposition.

[Pokrajac-Stamatovic] How do you assess the above-mentioned resolution?

[Martic] The resolution passed by the UN Security Council under U.S. influence is directly aimed against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Serbia. It is clear that pressure is being exerted on Belgrade with the aim that Yugoslavia recognize Croatia within its post-World War II borders. I am convinced, however, that not a single politician or political party in Serbia will agree to this condition. No one can accept that someone else's will is imposed on the people in the republic of Serbian Krajina. It should also be reiterated that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is obliged to help the republic of Serbian Krajina in case the UN Protection Force is withdrawn from Krajina. There is also a declaration signed between the Serbian republic and the republic of Serbian Krajina in 1992 that obliges us to help each other.

[Pokrajac-Stamatovic] Do you have any guarantees from Serbia, and what are the relations like between the republic of Serbian Krajina and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia now?

[Martic] We certainly have these guarantees, and our relations are exceptionally correct. We think that the relations between Krajina and Serbia must not be affected; it is a big mistake that the relations between the Srpska republic and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Serbia deteriorated, but they are already showing signs of improvement. Regarding the republic of Serbian Krajina, it has always been a factor of stability in these relations, and it will continue to do so.

[Pokrajac-Stamatovic] From a military point of view, is Krajina ready for a possible conflict with Croatia, and do you think it could come to this?

[Martic] The republic of Serbian Krajina and its leadership are absolutely determined to solve all disputes with the Republic of Croatia in a peaceful way. We have already proven this to international negotiators many times. There are facts that speak in our favor, so we shall certainly receive some [political] points. As far as the sovereignty of the Srpska republic is concerned, we are absolutely determined to defend it. We do not want to threaten anyone and we do not want a war, but if it is imposed on us, we have no other choice than to defend our state. If it really comes to a war, this would be the beginning of the end of Croatia in our opinion.

[Pokrajac-Stamatovic] Many people think that the negotiations held during the last couple of months between the republic of Serbian Krajina and Croatia and the agreement on economic relations represent a gradual return of Krajina to Croatia. Would the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia support this?

[Martic] Krajina will never return to Croatia. This story is over forever. As far as my personal opinion is concerned, however, I shall insist on the right of the people in the republic of Serbian Krajina to self-determination. Only the Krajina population can decide in a referendum with whom and how they want to live. Regarding economic negotiations, the government of the republic of Serbian Krajina is in charge of them and it was the Krajina government that started this process. The highway between Zagreb and Belgrade has already been reopened. The next move should be made by Croatia; it should return the generators of the "Obrovac" hydroelectric power plant. The pipeline should be reopened then and the question of electricity supply solved. The first part of the package would then be completed.

The issue of pensions should be solved then because there are 57,000 retired people in Krajina who were employed in the former Socialist Republic of Croatia. They have not received their pensions for four years now. Only after these issues have been solved can political solutions be sought. Political issues will be treated in the third stage. I shall personally lead a negotiating team consisting of professionals, regardless of their party membership.

[Pokrajac-Stamenkovic] Could the Knin-Split railroad be reopened soon?

[Martic] This would be difficult at the present stage of economic negotiations. This could be expected only after a political solution [for Krajina] is found.

[Pokrajac-Stamenkovic] If you read the Croatian press these days, you get the impression that not everyone in Croatia fully support Tudjman's policy.

[Martic] I think this is true. Istria absolutely does not support the war option, and it can be said that there is a high degree of democracy there. In my opinion, it is only a matter of time when Istria secedes from Croatia. The situation in Dalmatia is similar. The powers who oppose the war option, such as the Party of Dalmatian Action and some other leftist parties, are becoming increasingly strong. We have been informed by certain Dalmatian circles lately that they want to talk with us about the recognition of Krajina because they do not want a war. I support this.

SNS President Appraises Status of Serbs

AU2601170995 Zagreb GLOBUS in Serbo-Croatian 20 Jan 95 pp 5, 7

[Interview with Milan Djukic, vice president of the Croatian parliament and president of the Serbian National Party, SNS, by Djurdjica Klancir; place and date not given: "'Serbs in Croatia Have No Reason To Trust Croatian Authorities, and Serbia Has the Right To Protect Every Serb on the Territory of the Former Yugoslavia'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Already a day before President Tudjman's decision to terminate the mandate of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] was made public, the SNS [Serbian National Party] had launched a vigorous campaign against that move. At a news conference, SNS leaders demanded that a referendum be conducted to see whether people want to end the mandate of UN peacekeeping forces in Croatia or not. Furthermore, they characterized the decision as militaristic.

A day after Tudjman's decision was made public, the SNS organized a press conference at which they declared that the decision to terminate the UN mandate was "one-sided," presenting it as "warmongering and an attempt to advocate the military option; a distancing from a peaceful solution to the question of Serbs in Croatia."

Milan Djukic, president of the SNS, said: "I am hopeful that the Security Council—in keeping with its authority, in the framework of peace efforts—will nevertheless decide that UNPROFOR is to stay." Furthermore, he made a dramatic appeal in "The Manifesto to the Serbs in the Republic of Croatia and All Citizens of the Republic of Croatia...."

The SNS turned out to be the fiercest opponent to terminating the UNPROFOR mandate, regarding which a general consensus was reached in Croatia.

[Klancir] The SNS expressed strong opposition to the decision of Croatian authorities to terminate the mandate of UN forces. Could you tell us more about that?

[Djukic] We could not accept and uphold President Tudjman's decision to end UNPROFOR's mandate because the decision was not supported by reasons that favor the quick and just reintegration of Krajina. The allegation that UNPROFOR has not implemented a single Security Council resolution is not a valid reason to end its mandate. Furthermore, we do not want to uphold the Croatian political propaganda that the termination of the UN mandate is a quicker way to reintegration—which received the wholehearted support of all Croatian parties, from left to right, as always regarding a solution to the question of Serbs in Croatia. Terminating the UNPROFOR mandate is just another step toward negating everything that was accomplished by the patience and efforts of the international community.

First of all, UNPROFOR is not here to implement international community decisions, least of all passed resolutions. It is here to help implement them, but only to the extent that they are respected by both warring parties. Every resolution, even the Vance-Owen Plan itself, depends on the political will of representatives of the Knin government and Croatian representatives in Zagreb. However, neither side has showed such political will and in my opinion Croatia has exhibited even less.

[Klancir] Croatia was attacked. One part of its territory is under occupation and you claim that it lacks the political will for peaceful reintegration of its state territory? Are you trying to say that the Serbs who want to secede from Croatia showed more political will than the Croatian authorities?

[Djukic] Neither the Krajina Serbs nor the Serbs in free parts of Croatia are in power in Croatia. Furthermore, the Serbs are not a majority nation in Croatia. The Croats are in power in Croatia and their mature political initiative and clear concept in political negotiations should have brought about a solution to the problem.

Also, Croatia made two fatal mistakes right from the beginning. First, important problems, even those regarding the Serbs, are not being solved in the system's institutions. That prevented the Knin side from becoming an equal political partner. It will be like that until negotiations are over. The second mistake was made in 1992. At that time, the Croatian Government imposed the following formula: Serbs in Croatia equals Krajina. Two-thirds of all Serbs in Croatia still lived on the free territory of Croatia in 1992. Since then, however, things have changed.

Thanks to the malfunctioning of the rule-of-law state, many Serbs had to leave the free territory of Croatia. Croatian authorities do not want to admit that the unresolved question of Serbs in Croatia is at the root of the problem. Solving the Serbian question is the right road toward reintegration of UNPA [UN Protected Area] zones. Consequently, UNPROFOR did as much as the warring sides allowed it to do. It is incomprehensible that—now that the warring sides in Bosnia-Herzegovina have agreed that the solution lies in negotiations, when the second round of negotiations began in Croatia—President Tudjman terminates UNPROFOR's mandate!

It is not the fault of the Krajina Serbs that parts of the second round of negotiations are being realized at a snail's pace. That is the fault of the Croatian authorities because they one-sidedly established deadlines before the second round of negotiations was signed! But now all negotiation efforts have been halted anyway. President Tudjman now offers the Serbs what they demanded in 1990—cultural autonomy and a high degree of autonomy in the districts. At that time, Croatia was not yet an independent state. If Croatia really wants a peaceful solution for UNPA zones, peacekeeping forces are not a hindrance. I am convinced that the withdrawal of UNPROFOR will lead to war!

[Klancir] But there is evidence that UNPROFOR has not been efficient in occupied Croatian areas: The remaining Croat population was displaced or killed; the Serbs were not disarmed....

[Djukic] UNPROFOR was neither armed nor equipped to perform that function. I repeat, it was not sent to Croatia to implement Security Council resolutions. UNPROFOR is not here to give support to either warring side. From the Croatian point of view, peacekeeping forces favored Serbs from UNPA zones, but from the Serbs' point of view UNPROFOR was on the side of Croatia....

[Klancir] You either say "Krajina" or UNPA zone. You do not use the term "occupied Croatian areas?"

[Djukic] Much has changed in Croatia in the past couple of years. Reintegration became an issue when the term "occupied Croatian areas" started to be widely used. It was like that in 1991, and the JNA [Yugoslav National Army] did indeed come into Croatia. However, many things have changed since then regarding Serbs in Croatia.

[Klancir] Are you saying that occupied areas are no longer occupied?

[Djukic] We can call them occupied areas, but the term does not give the real picture.... The JNA was not equally represented in all areas, in Vukovar, Ilok, Donji Lapac. Please tell me whose area the inhabitants of Donji Lapac occupied? How many centuries have Serbs lived there?

[Klancir] But the Serbs in Donji Lapac do not recognize the Croatian state, all Croats were exiled from the area, citizens who recognize the Croatian state are not even allowed to pass through Donji Lapac.

[Djukic] No, the Croats were not exiled from Donji Lapac. Even today, at war, Croat doctors take care of Serbs in Donji Lapac. I do not want to generalize by suggesting that everybody is the same. The situation is not the same everywhere.

[Klancir] But Donji Lapac does not recognize the fictional authorities of the so-called Krajina?

[Djukic] And what is Donji Lapac doing now? How can we remove Donji Lapac from that area?

[Klancir] Has your party contacted the Serbs in occupied areas? Do you really want reintegration?

[Djukic] Of course. However, the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community], the ruling party, stands in the way of our efforts to find a lasting solution for the Serbs within the framework of Croatia as an integral country! It seems that Croatian authorities want to contact only "disposable" Serbs. How else can we interpret the fact that our initiative, which has already been included in the international human rights network, did not get a single minute of air time on state television or radio, while the statement of a Serb from Rijeka in support of the president's move to terminate the mandate of UNPROFOR made the headlines? Whether that was a false statement or not, it is obviously part of HDZ propaganda campaign. Serbs will never let Croats choose our representatives.

[Klancir] You say the statement that 300 Serbs from Rijeka support the termination of UNPROFOR's mandate does not hold water. Do you believe that no Serb in Croatia can support the president's decision to end the mandate of peacekeeping forces in Croatia?

[Djukic] No, I am not saying that no Serb can support the president's decision. I am saying that the decision was not approved by the Serbs in the free part of Croatia and those in Krajina.

[Klancir] So you think that Croatian authorities should have waited for the approval of the Serbs. Parliament Vice President Seks has already provided an answer to that: You behave as if the Serbs are a constituent nation in Croatia!

[Djukic] Yes, Seks immediately accused us of engaging in unconstitutional activities. He is probably considering instituting legal proceedings against us.... He says that we are one sentence away from the Serbs in Knin. To his deep regret, I will never utter that sentence. I want to solve the Serb problem within the framework of the internationally recognized borders of Croatia.

[Klancir] You talk about the "problem of Serbs in Croatia." Could you expound your view of the problem?

[Djukic] When I talk about the problem of Serbs in Croatia, I think about a host of political and economic problems. First, the Serbs in Croatia cannot be a minority. Nobody ever asked us anything when a national state was being created in Croatia!

[Klancir] Did Serbs throughout Croatia not get a chance to participate on the Croatian political scene before the war? Were there no Serb deputies in the parliament when the Constitution of the Republic of Croatia was drawn up?

[Djukic] The SNS was not in the parliament at that time. The Serbs who were there should take the blame.... However, the Constitution and questions determined by the Constitution and the Constitutional Law on Human Rights and Liberties must be thoroughly debated. If it was impossible, due to the war, to hold a referendum throughout Croatia, it should have been organized here, on the free part of the country. However, even those legal solutions that were passed following a debate, are not implemented....

[Klancir] You claim that the Serbs in Croatia are not a minority?

[Djukic] According to which international convention do the Serbs meet requirements for the status of national minority only? According to which international definition? The Serbs are a nation in Croatia.

[Klancir] This means that you want to change the Constitution?

[Djukic] First of all, we demand that the Constitution be amended. The Constitution should first define the status of Serbs in Croatia. The Serbs were a nation until 1990 and they cannot become a minority all of a sudden. On the other hand, we need to explain a vague preamble to the Constitution that defines Croatia as a national state: "Croatia is a country of Croats and other nations...." Later on, however, certain sections of the Constitution say that "people" cannot be divided. Why, then, should the community of the Serbs be defined in the Constitution as a national minority?

Moreover, since Croatia was recognized as a sovereign country, I think it is high time it amended its constitution and opted for a civil society and civil democracy. A national state cannot develop civil democracy. Unfortunately, I do not see the political will for making such moves: Talking about the mandate of peacekeeping forces, the president again addressed the Croats and other citizens of Croatia.... Does that not imply that there are first-class citizens—Croats—and second-class citizens? Croatian authorities are wrong in approaching the Serbs in Croatia only on the subject of reintegration. The problem of the Serbs in Croatia is much more complex, though closely related to reintegration.

[Klancir] Do you advocate the political autonomy of Serbs in occupied Croatian areas?

[Djukic] Our project was made on the model of other modern political autonomies. Why has our demand for our own parliament, laws, authorities, president—within the framework of Serbian political autonomy—provoked such a violent backlash from Croatia? Substance is what matters. What those units are to be called is beside the point. Of course, we do not even want to talk about borders of the so-called hard autonomy for the time being. The question of borders is bound together with the return of refugees. However, Croatian authorities should also think about 300,000 Croats who want to go back to their homes as well as 300,000 Serbs who want to return to their homes in the free part of Croatia.... If a lasting solution is found for this problem, it can be expected that hard autonomy will affect only the districts of Knin and Glina.

[Klancir] You said it was intolerable that President Tudjman today offers to the Serbs what they demanded in 1990: cultural autonomy. Why is that not enough today? Is it because you think that weapons give them the right to demand more?

[Djukic] No, because the demographic structure in free parts of Croatia has changed drastically. Too many Serbs were exiled, exposed to pressure.... Serbs need a better guarantee that they can exist as a nation within the Croatian state. We were stigmatized as the collective culprit. Croatian authorities could not identify its enemy—whether it was Belgrade, the Yugoslav National Army, manipulated individuals in Knin.... A heavy stigma was attached to Serbs in general. The stigma has taken its toll on Serbs in free parts of Croatia....

[Klancir] You mentioned 300,000 exiled Serbs!

[Djukic] We keep detailed records of that.... Not only were the Serbs forced into exile as a result of various kinds of pressure, some of them were also brought in for questioning and never came back. Tens of thousands of Serbian homes were burnt to the ground, entire villages destroyed. Several hundreds were executed in Zagreb, Karlovac, Gospic.... What about Pakracka Poljana? The rule-of-law state does not work, the public is silent!

[Klancir] Some of those cases were fully investigated. Newspapers write and warn about it.... You cannot say that the public ignores those problems.

[Djukic] Please, spare me.... Newspapers reveal some documents in order to get other documents, not because they really want the rule-of-law state to work! Why did not a single investigation produce any results? It is not done! The Gospic process unfolds before the international court on human rights.

[Klancir] You have not told me how you came up with the number of 300,000 Serbs. In his interview for VJESNIK, Croatian Parliament Vice President Vladimir Seks said he thought that that figure included all Serbs who supported the JNA and fled to Serbia.

[Djukic] We got this number on the basis of UNHCR reports, of data we received from Mazowiecki, and even figures from the Croatian Office in Belgrade. Croatian authorities will be able to check that without problem. However, I see that Mr. Seks did not deny our statement on missing and killed Serbs.

[Klancir] Do the signs along the highway through occupied Croatian areas not show that your concept is not good enough for local Serb appetites? They still insist on "republic," i.e. on a separate state.

[Djukic] I can understand why Croats have an aversion to those signs, but that cannot justify their undermining of the peace process. We must solve the problem of Serbs in Croatia and the problem of those signs will be solved as well. Anyway, did Croatia not start waving Pavelic's flag again in 1990?

[Klancir] That was not Pavelic's but the Croatian flag!

[Djukic] Do you not remember which field came first on the flag? We all know the difference between Croatian and Pavelic's flags! The other day, marking the 30th anniversary of Pavelic's death in Split, did you not see his picture? Several thousand people were there! Can that be any good for Croatia?

[Klancir] Croat Government representatives have signaled lately that the withdrawal of peacekeeping forces does not mean Croatia intends to launch an attack on Croatian occupied areas. Do you not believe that?

[Djukic] We have lost faith in the Croatian Government. How can we believe it is not preparing for military action when it did not even respect the Constitutional Law of 1991? The Constitutional Law talks about the establishment of a temporary court for human rights. How can Serbs believe the authorities now, knowing that Croatia did not respect Articles 8 and 10 of the Constitutional Law, which established that Serb representatives can also become members of the executive authorities? Today there are no Serbs in the Chamber of Counties either! Why, for example, did I as vice- president of the parliament not chair a single session of the parliament?

There are many other examples. They have let us down too many times and we no longer have faith in the Croatian authorities.

[Klancir] On several occasions you have mentioned that negotiators—representatives of the Croatian Government and Knin Serb representatives—are equal.

[Djukic] I did not assert that! The Croatian Governmnet established that when it decided to reduce the problem of Serbs in Croatia to the problem of reintegration. The Croatian Government started that trend! The Serbs equals Krajina! I think reintegration is fictitious. In my opinion, it does nothing but recognize Croatian integrity. However, the problem of Serbs in Croatia should not be discussed with Knin. It should be solved in the Croatian Parliament.

[Klancir] You are now the only opponent of the president's decision to terminate the UNPROFOR mandate. All major opposition parties support that decision.

[Djukic] That only shows that there is no opposition in the Croatian Parliament! Croatia obviously does not have a serious political party that could win the next elections and be a match to the HDZ.

[Klancir] Although Croatian authorities keep saying that they do not advocate military option regarding the reintegration of Croatian occupied areas, do you not believe them? However, does Croatia have no right to military intervention—within its state borders—if the other side makes it clear that it does not want to solve that problem peacefully?

[Djukic] Croatia will hardly be able to solve the Krajina problem by means of weapons.... Will it again mobilize Serbs and send them to fight against other Serbs? While reconciling Croatian emigrants and antifascists, will it ask the Serbs to kill each other? Furthermore, I do not understand why Croatia thinks that it could defeat the Krajina Serbs quickly and without serious repercussions. Why does Croatia think it has the right to protect all Croats, wherever they may be, even through its units in Bosnia? Why should Serbia not have the right to protect all Serbs on the territory of former Yugoslavia?

[Klancir] But did the Serbs in Croatia, in the past four years, not get a chance to show that they want peaceful reintegration?

[Djukic] No! Because Croatia did not have any concept for the resolution of that problem. Besides, did Croatia show it wanted a peaceful solution? Were Serb houses in free parts of Croatia not burned? Why were villages in western Slavonia—about 70 of them—burned and ravaged if there was no fighting in that area? Why was nobody held accountable for that? Political elites lead nations into war, manipulate them, and now we have to deal with the consequences....

[Klancir] You say that political elites lead the two nations into this war. So you no longer admit Croatia was attacked?

[Djukic] Croatia was attacked by a JNA division, but let us not forget that Croatia wanted to secede from Yugoslavia and take the Serbs along without asking their opinion!

[Klancir] But the Serbs took weapons in their hands and did not want to talk at that time!

[Djukic] Of course, I keep stressing that this was their fatal mistake.... However, it is intolerable that Croatia decided to adopt the Constitution and determine the status of Serbs in Croatia without their input.

Mikelic on Prospects of RSK Independence

95BA0092A Belgrade DUGA in Serbo-Croatian 10-23 Dec 94 pp 8-11

[Interview with Borislav Mikelic, prime minister of the Serbian republic of Krajina, by Vanja Bulic; place and date not given: "The Dinar Is Stronger in Krajina Than in the FRY"]

[FBIS Translated Text] One day the *Guinness Book of World Records* will surely show that Borislav Mikelic, prime minister of the Serbian republic of Krajina [RSK], traveled more than 150,000 km within the RSK during seven months of his tenure as prime minister. This is a very irregularly shaped territory; its capital, Knin, is off to one side in the direction of the coast; its economic and agricultural backbone is within reach of Zagreb; and it stretches out toward Serbia and the Srpska republic.

As one of the negotiators concerning economic cooperation between the RSK and Croatia, Borislav Mikelic is a focus of public attention these days. The negotiations have been very strenuous and for the present successful, although both sides interpret them in the way that their public would most like to hear.

Tudjman's government sentenced Mr. Borislav Mikelic to 20 years of strict imprisonment last year as one of the key people responsible for the Serbian people's resistance to the ustashist revival. That is not, of course, the way the Croatian court put it, but its Serbian translation. A man with a 20-year prison sentence on his head is going to Zagreb to negotiate with Croatia's highest leaders under the sponsorship of officials of the most prestigious European countries. The sentence was passed on Mr. Mikelic *in absentia*, but the Croats evaluated his role in the uprising of the Serbian people.

Borislav Mikelic was a well-known fighter against the mass movement in 1971. Mikelic felt at that time the growth of ustashism, and he experienced its temporary lull, but for that very reason he was easily able to recognize it when it emerged once again in the late 1980's within the League of Communists of Croatia [Croatian LC], which paved the way for the Croatian Democratic Union [HDZ] to emerge as an explicitly nationalistic party and to continue where Pavelic left off in 1945.

It Did Not All Begin With the HDZ

[Mikelic] I spoke out in the Croatian Assembly concerning the written and spoken language. The position of the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia was that there should be a reconciliation and that there could not be a Croatian literary language in Croatia when in Serbia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Montenegro they called it Serbo-Croatian. So, it could only be called the Croato-Serbian language. I was a member of the Croatian Assembly, a member of the Central Committee of the LCY [League of Communists of Yugoslavia], and I regularly attended meetings of the Croatian Central Committee, so that I was at the source of the events. I was also general director of Gavrilovic, one of the most successful Yugoslav firms, which in 1989 had a record output of 50,000 metric tons of meat, and it mounted the world throne as the largest exporter of ham in Europe. We were proclaimed the best factory, ahead of the Dutch and Danish firms which exported to the United States. As a deputy in the Assembly who had experienced the mass movement, I felt the same wind as in 1971. Just like then, some Serbs maintained close ties with the Croatian nationalistic core for reasons of careerism, and I was trying to expose them. Even today they are loyal to the conception created in 1971.

[Bulic] In 1989, Mikelic said in the Assembly that he was a Communist, that he was a Yugoslav by commitment, but a Serb born in the area under Kozara Mountain, that his parents were killed in the war, and he spent 13 years in boys' homes. Can it be that the children of those who were killed in the period between 1941 and 1945 are not entitled to their own written and spoken language? Can it be that the proposal to delete the Serbs from the Croatian Constitution will pass? Borislav Mikelic asked at that time in the Assembly. This would result in divisions and an atmosphere difficult to oppose by any social force in Croatia. This was the first statement in the Assembly against the encroaching HDZ neofascism.

[Mikelic] It was in August that Seks made his speech in Australia, which was immediately forwarded to the LCY Central Committee, but no one reacted! Serbs reacted individually, but here in Serbia. In Croatia, the Serbs were more a decoration in the forums, as a kind of recollection of the years of war and a contribution to the fight against fascism. They were part of the folklore, people who had relinquished all ties to the people. They spoke out only when there was a need to strike out against Serbian nationalism. You recall how Dr. Dusan Dragosavac behaved in the LCY Central Committee when Kosovo was discussed. There was a big difference between us in the field who were carrying on business and the Serbs who lived in Zagreb and went from one political post to another. At that time, I objected to the concept presented by Slavica Bajan, a political star at the time, to drop the Serbs from the Croatian Constitution. Following that statement, I never entered the Croatian Assembly again. I delivered it from the speaker's stand after a vote in which more than 40 members voted to remove the Serbs from the Constitution. I said from the speaker's stand that until that day I had considered them my comrades... but I no longer considered them comrades. Until that time Croatia had been the national state of the Croatian people and the state of the Serbian and other nationalities. So, it did not all begin with the HDZ. Later, it was all simply implemented. I did not want to go to the Assembly as a minority, especially because I was elected deputy by Serbs, Croats, and other citizens.

[Bulic] Then came the years of the denouement at the 11th Congress of the Croatian LC. Mikelic spoke to more than 1,000 delegates in a breach of the rules, warning that black days lay ahead. This was also on the eve of the 14th LCY Congress. He tried to argue that they should preserve the state before entering into multiparty life, because no agreement existed before the 14th Congress. Significant differences became evident in the congress, and Borislav Mikelic was the only member of the Croatian delegation to remain in Belgrade to the end of the congress. The Slovene and Croatian delegations left the congress. He continued to attend meetings of the LCY Central Committee.

Multiparty life began in Croatia, and the SDS [Serbian Democratic Party] was established in Knin with the late Raskovic. Serbs with ties to the League of Communists mostly stayed within the confines of the concept that advocated maintaining a Yugoslavia in which the Serbs would remain a constituent nationality in Croatia. That was the program of the Croatian LC in the first round of the election. After the first round, the HDZ had a program for dismembering Yugoslavia and dealing with the Serbs. Racan added the SDP [Democratic Reform Party] to the abbreviation of the Croatian LC, and everything took a different course. That is, in the first round he was in favor of Yugoslavia and the sovereignty of the Serbian people, while in the second round he gave that up and thus deceived the Serbs in the election. There were 23 Serbs who became delegates in the Croatian Assembly through the Croatian LC-SDP and five through the SDS.

They Did Everything To Break Gavrilovic

[Mikelic] I did not run in the election, and I later decided to form the Socialist Party, whose orientation is Yugoslav. A large number of members came to us. But then the entire policy of the HDZ turned against Knin and against Petrinja. At rallies in large halls, I pointed out that there would be bloodshed. They argued that my party had a pro-Serb orientation and was tied to Slobodan Milosevic and the SPS [Socialist Party of Serbia]. As the head of Gavrilovic, I became a media figure in the Croatian press, I had 7,000 workers in Petrinja, 8 km from Sisak and 50 from Zagreb. They did everything to break down Gavrilovic. In August, the special forces entered Petrinja. I was in Uzice, where I had a meeting with Rahman Morina. I learned of the events in Petrinja in the morning, the special forces had caused an uproar, mothers had gone to garrisons with their children. 96

Serbs were arrested and were beaten in prison, three members of the Main Committee of the Socialist Party were locked up. I arrived and we organized a protest rally in Grabovac at which Goran Babic, general secretary of the Socialist Party, spoke in addition to myself. It was clear that war would soon come to Banija, because the Croats had received the special police in their homes, had treated them as guests, had shown that they had separated themselves from the Serbs. It was clear to me that the Serbs and Croats would no longer be able to work together on the same shift, because the special forces went from one Serbian house to another, jabbing mattresses and pillows with bayonets. I said at the rally in Grabovac that we were once again extending a hand of reconciliation. If they did not take it, there would be a war which they would lose!

[Bulic] Josip Boljkovac sent his assistant Perica Juric to meet with Mikelic and to ascertain whether it was possible to meet the Serbian conditions. They accepted some of the demands, but most of the Serbs remained in prison. Rajko Danilovic and Silvije Degen defended the members of the party's Main Committee. All of this shook Banija, Kordun, especially Petrinja, and a month later Borislav Mikelic was injured in a traffic accident under mysterious circumstances.

[Mikelic] I do not have proof, but suspicion remains. I spent more than two and a half months in the hospital. I was between life and death for three weeks. As soon as I got up, I went back to Gavrilovic, where there were some 30 inspectors. They undertook sabotage. They poisoned the ham that was going to the United States in order to prove that the poisoners were firms managed by Serbs! I was under unprecedented pressure. The telephone was bugged, I was followed, and we also discovered cameras that were taking pictures of everything. The newspapers said that I was hauling weapons in refrigerated trucks. The noose was tightened around me, and I realized that I had no chance at all. I learned that at a meeting in Dubrava, at the home of academician Brozovic, a man who advocated that the border be on the Drina, they had decided to liquidate me physically. Every Tuesday, Manolic demanded a report on the activities of Borislav Mikelic, and I can just imagine the kind of reports they made. Distorted, of course. They decided that four ustashi would apprehend me at home.... I do not need to go on; everyone knows the formula.

[Bulic] At that time, in early December 1990, Veljko Kadijevic announced that paramilitary units would be disarmed. It was decided that this would be done in the first half of January. Then came Stipe Mesic's juggling, the meeting of the Presidency, just two days later the remaining weapons were distributed instead of being turned over to the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army]. In December 1990, the Socialist Party of Croatia joined the SK-PJ [League of Communists—Movement for Yugoslavia] as a collective member in hopes that Yugoslavia would hold out. Borislav Mikelic became a member of the Main Committee, but as president of the Socialist Party.

Everything Is Based on Risky Trade

[Mikelic] I was a member of the Executive Committee of the SK-PJ up to the end of April 1991, when I ceased to be a member of that party. In early March, I had been fired at Gavrilovic at the request of the Croatian Supreme Command because of my public statement, according to the grounds given. Some Serbs even voted for that dismissal. I had no chance of staying. Objectively, I was unable to operate there, but today some people insinuate that I fled. I never left the people in these parts. I was a participant in the resistance, and that is the only truth. I was hired in a proper way at Progres in Belgrade, but I never wanted to take over any big firm anywhere, although it was offered to me, because I did not want to sever ties with my native place. I decided to offer my knowledge, but not to be committed all the time. I did not take part in the elections in Serbia or in Belgrade. I did not take citizenship in the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia].

[Bulic] Then the war started, and the RSK got a leadership that was tempered in combat. Many adverse tendencies emerged, war profiteering, trading in goods from humanitarian aid, and the state was unable to combat the growing crime. The economy was completely neglected. Then came the events concerning the Miljevci Plateau, and the Medak pocket. Which is largely why Krajina became largely dependent on Yugoslavia.

[Mikelic] When there is no production, everything is built on high-risk trading. People live on idleness, because the decisive thing is getting along. Under such conditions, it is difficult to conduct multiparty elections even in well-ordered states, much less in a state that is in swaddling clothes, at a time when there is a constant danger of war. The SDS was the most numerous in the multiparty Assembly, then came the united SDS of the Serbian lands, and the Radicals were third. Babic was victorious in the first round for president of the republic, and Martic in the second, and he nominated me to form a government. I later learned in a conversation with Babic that he would also have proposed me for prime minister had he been elected president, because there was agreement that the position should be taken by an experienced businessman. He has even said that in public. Differences arose when the coalition was formed between the SDS and the Radicals. I worked conscientiously for three months and came out with a realistic assessment of the state of affairs. Defense remained Job One, because if you have no defense, you do not have Krajina. But as we entered the peace process, this meant that some of the personnel would leave their positions and return to production, which was becoming Job Two. The size of the employed labor force was increasing very rapidly, and it has today reached 67,000! Much has been done in agriculture, because when that sector is activated on about 320,000 hectares of the most fertile land, it becomes clear that food production is Krajina's step into the future, into Europe.

[Bulic] When this government took over the helm, the value of goods was 8 million dinars. Now they are worth

52 million dinars! Krajina has entered into the unified monetary system of Yugoslavia and Professor Avramovic's unified program, which for Krajina was like balm on our wound. Borislav Mikelic says that the discipline with which Professor Avramovic's measures are being carried out is even higher than in Yugoslavia, and foreign exchange reserves have increased considerably. Defense is a large expenditure, representing all of 80 percent, but the fact that Krajina has a larger social product than Montenegro means a great deal. Krajina has 540,000 hectares of forest. Petroleum production at Mirkovci has been increased by 150 metric tons of crude petroleum per day.

[Mikelic] Simply put, things have really taken a turn for the better. Now the mobilization has brought us to a halt. I say that the dinar here in Krajina is harder than in Yugoslavia. We have not had any of that scalping they have had in Belgrade!

[Bulic] Borislav Mikelic makes this assessment responsibly, without concealing his pride. Asked whether the most essential thing in his commitment was that he was a prestigious businessman or that he was a politician, he said that this is a good combination, especially now in negotiations with the Croatian side. It is clear even to the Croats that the economy of Krajina is completely oriented toward Yugoslavia, that lines of credit of the National Bank have been extended. In the summer harvest, 80,000 tons of wheat were purchased, which few could have predicted. This fall Krajina had a harvest of 400,000 tons of corn. Then there is oilseed, and livestock production has been increased. There will be food!

What is happening in the buffer zones? How is life proceeding there? Those are questions rarely commented on in public. But in the buffer zones there are 200,000 hectares of land, 124 settlements, 84 of them Serbian, with a majority Serbian population. The buffer zone has stopped the killing and aggression, and a kind of Cyprusization has taken place. This has been pointed out by Mesic and the opposition, which is saying in the Croatian Assembly that the peace agreement for the cease-fire has absolutely played into the hands of the Serbs. Now we have moved on to an altogether separate segment—economic negotiations. Croatia is interested in the railroad lines, highway transportation, electricity, water, oil pipelines, the Zagreb-Knin railroad, Zagreb-Belgrade, and so forth. In the former Yugoslavia, Krajina was a dead-end street, and now it has an occasion to get on the main line.

[Mikelic] I think that Krajina is now in a better position than under the SFRY [Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia], and I say that in two years it will be an important exporter of food and many industrial goods. Borovo, Belje, Gavrilovic, Plitvice, a national park which at one time had no peer in Yugoslavia in continental tourism, are in Krajina. The annual exports of these few firms, not counting the others, were more than $300 million. Do you know what that kind of annual revenue means to a population of 450,000? Under such conditions, it can sleep peacefully and even finance its own army. And then add agriculture and oil.

AVNOJ Is Possible, but in a Package With the LCY Central Committee

[Bulic] In the negotiations with Croatia, the Krajina people are pushing economic issues, but the Croats would like to talk about political issues. How are those relations being reconciled? In Krajina, how do they look upon the constant accentuation of the position that this is the first step toward reintegration of Krajina in Croatia?

[Mikelic] When the Croats speak about reintegration of Krajina, the only thing they have going for them is the fact that they are internationally recognized in the AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] borders. All the other six of the seven conditions are on the Krajina side: the population, the army, the police, international relations, and, most important, how can someone occupy the place where he was born and where he lives? No one came here from Kosovo or Vojvodina to conquer and live in someone else's house. These are all Serbs who were born here. It is another matter that there were Serbs from Serbia who came as volunteers, but they have gone back to their native place.

[Bulic] The Croats, they say, are preparing to undertake talks about "displaced persons" with arguments. These are, of course, refugees. Is this the weak point of the Serbs in the negotiations? Back when Croatia was a federal unit, 300 Serbs went over to the territory of what is now Yugoslavia in 1990 and 1991. There were 100,000 who left for Bosnia-Herzegovina or the Srpska republic, because that is where they came from, and 60,000 went to work abroad or simply fled somewhere into Europe. Then there were 130,000 Serbs who came from industrial centers to Krajina, and 60,000 changed their first and last names!

[Mikelic] At the same time, there were 130,000 Croats who left Krajina for Croatia. If that ratio is 1:6, then on what can the Croats build their strategy? Hrvoje Sarinic was a bit taken aback by this argument when I presented it to him, but he also knows the figures quite well.

[Bulic] The negotiators are also personally acquainted; some of them have worked together. Now they are in a quite different situation. Is there teasing and gamesmanship which comes from the sphere of politics?

[Mikelic] I should say there is! There have been none of these negotiations when Mr. Sarinic did not come out with a political proclamation or declaration at the beginning or at the end to say that the Serbs in Krajina have to enter a political integration, that this is the only way out, because this is Croatian territory which we supposedly have occupied. I let him finish his tale, and then I say that these are economic talks, and when we finish them, I will present arguments that will hit him hard, and we will go back to the historical framework. If you continue to talk this way, I will leave the negotiations! I said the same thing to Mr. Owen. Once, I asked for a time-out. We have never talked in this way, neither in Knin nor in Zagreb. In any case, the two delegations are very secure, and an objective conversation can be conducted through the mediation of the international community, because it all takes place in the presence of very prestigious people from Europe.

[Bulic] The political assessments of the talks being issued by the top people in Croatia and Krajina are very much at odds. Dr. Franjo Tudjman lets no opportunity slip to say that the talks are a big step toward reintegration of Krajina into Croatia. The Serbian side has a different opinion.

[Mikelic] I think it is quite the opposite—a large step toward Krajina's independence. If in the peace negotiations we got a border similar to the one on Cyprus, if we are ready to behave in a civilized way in the eyes of Europe, if a sizable amount of water crosses our territory toward Croatia, and we are ready to sell it and get goods in return, if we solve problems with electricity with the help of Yugoslavia through the Srpska republic and Bosnia, and thus avoid darkness.... All of that means that we are strengthening Krajina. If we solve the issue of the oil pipeline and sell a sizable quantity of petroleum at world prices, which is not the case now, because we cannot sell it that way anywhere, then it means that Krajina is strengthened additionally from within. If at the same time we internationalize part of the limited-access highway, and then transport goes in the direction of Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, Krajina will also benefit. There are no property relations here, and there is nothing to be said about reintegration. They did not become owners of the oil pipeline, the electricity, our streams.... They only use them and abide by the agreement. I understand Dr. Tudjman, who has to declare all that in order to calm the Croatian public, but the reality is something quite different. So long as the agreements are abided by, they can use the water supply, the oil pipeline, the limited-access highway. Otherwise, the faucets will be turned off! Sincerely, this is the road toward a plebiscite, toward the right of a people to self-determination, because we will fulfill everything that is agreed, and the plebiscite is then a logical link. In the meantime, the number of Serbs in Krajina will be growing.

We Will Spend $1 Billion To Rebuild Vukovar

[Bulic] What is a reasonable period for all that to be accomplished?

[Mikelic] Two years! The limited-access highway can open by New Year's. It is not damaged, but security has to be strengthened, especially in the Slavonian section. We have obtained agreement that all the approach roads and intersections be in our hands, which means that we maintain security to the wire, and only the road is internationalized.

[Bulic] When will the Krajina people who went to Serbia use that road to come back to their homeland?

[Mikelic] What we are doing now is a precondition, the creation of a strong Krajina from within and offering the possibility of working and earning a living in it. This is the job that we have to do, we who were not in the front lines of combat, but who are now coming to the fore because of our intellectual abilities. Some 15,000 people left Krajina for Serbia, no more than that. Often there is a confusion with the number of Serbs who left Croatia, and so mistaken conclusions are drawn. It is dishonorable, but it often happens, that the increased crime in Belgrade is explained in terms of the presence of Serbs from Krajina or from the Srpska republic. Some of them were certainly forced into it for survival, but the generalization is very harmful to the people in Krajina, who have nothing to do with that, and they have to be viewed separately.

[Bulic] How do you explain the resignation of Mr. Boro Rasuo, information minister?

[Mikelic] Mr. Rasuo entered my government as a representative of the Krajina SDS. He had full independence in the running of his ministry. There was a difference in a meeting of the government at Plitvice. Mr. Rasuo favored unification with the Srpska republic at a time when Yugoslavia introduced sanctions toward the Srpska republic. We then found ourselves in a situation with no way out, because we would be affected by the sanctions. Why would we do that, when we can wait for a better moment for unification, which is not in dispute? This does not mean that he is or I am less or more a Serb, because there is simply a difference in conception as to whether before final union we should make a few intermediate steps or should rush headlong into the strawberries. Boro Rasuo felt that we were abandoning the course of the ethnic policy of the Serbian people, because we did not want to enter into a union when it was most difficult for the Serbs in the Srpska republic. After that, Mr. Rasuo wrote a letter, not to the government, but to the public, expecting that we would respond likewise. We, of course, did not consent to that. My assessment, and this turned out to be the case in the government, was that Rasuo did not favor collective effort. That was followed by his resignation, which was accepted.

[Bulic] Is there rivalry between you and Mr. Babic?

[Mikelic] No. Mr. Babic is a very strong political figure in Krajina, but also much more than that. The party headed by Mr. Babic is altogether correct. I came into office as an expert on the economy, although I am a politician, especially in these negotiations. Babic is the foreign minister in my government.

[Bulic] You are the prime minister of a state that includes Vukovar, a suffering city, a monument to the madness of war. When will the rebuilding of Vukovar begin?

[Mikelic] Vukovar is our Hiroshima, a city that experienced what no city in Europe has experienced. It is not my place to talk about how and why that occurred, whether it might have been different, but as prime minister, as soon as I took this post, I made the rebuilding of Vukovar one of the key issues. The assessment is that the damage in Vukovar has run to 1 billion German marks, which means that the entire former Yugoslavia would not have the potential to invest in the rebuilding of Vukovar. Vukovar now has a population of 30,000 refugees, and so the total number is somewhere around 60,000. On the eve of the war, Vukovar had a population of 81,000. It had an employed labor force of 32,000, while now it has 10,000. I have asked Mr. Akashi to distribute immediately a portion of the funds that the United Nations has earmarked for Vukovar—regardless of future talks on territorial demarcation, to begin the repairs, in order to bring about conditions for normal life in that suffering city. The public is not aware that we have adopted a law on rebuilding Vukovar. Together with Vukovar, we have so far invested 10 million dinars this year, and that revitalization from within is slowly going forward, but the damage is so great that all of it seems almost impossible to see. There are buildings of which the upper part has been destroyed, but people are living normally on the ground floor and commercial space has been opened. People are resourceful, they are returning to their Vukovar. If the sanctions are removed, it will all take a different course: We will open a port that will perhaps be stronger than the one in Novi Sad, we will undertake to carry out the plan for a duty-free zone.... In the upcoming negotiations, we are taking up that part that is related to the Danube. At the same time, Borovo has managed to rise from the ashes and has a daily output of 5,000 pairs of shoes, Vuteks has organized new production, and Vupik is waking up. Do you know that Vukovar had an annual output of 10 million liters of wine? As prime minister of Krajina, I am very happy with what is being done in Vukovar under Dokmanovic's lead. That is why I cannot understand the frequent malice that one can find in certain Belgrade newspapers. I have read this even in DUGA, in an article devoted to the 30th anniversary of the liberation of Vukovar. I will not talk about statements such as "they are continuing to make fun of Krajina," but I must say something about the factual errors. I was not in Vukovar on the day of the celebration, because the previous day I chaired a meeting at a temperature of 39.6 degrees. Your journalist saw me, although I was not there. I think that a prime minister should not be written about in that way regardless of whether it is me or someone else. There are witnesses who know that this is the truth. I came to the Assembly on Saturday, where I said exactly what I am saying now. They wrote that some military headquarters had forbidden me to go back to Banija, which is a lie and insinuation. Instead of a question of yours, I will answer the question of Mr. Nenad Stefanovic, which he put to me in the article about the liberation of Vukovar. He asked me whether I knew that Krajina was at war? Of course I know, because I was an integral part of that resistance, and I was "rewarded" with 20 years in prison by Croatia. I would like to say that the Serbian people in Banija and my native Potkozarje are well aware of that. In any case, it is all totaled up at the end. Let others say who of us did what.

I came to Krajina to strengthen it from within, and I can say that this is already taking place, although as prime minister I will not neglect the external part of diplomatic-political activity of the RSK either.

RSK Army Leader: Can Counter Croat Aggression

LD2601174095 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1722 GMT 26 Jan 95

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Knin, Jan 26 (TANJUG)—Army Commander of the republic of Serb Krajina Maj.-Gen. Milan Celeketic on Thursday said his reorganized army was capable of countering every Croatian aggression.

Celeketic told reporters here that his army was reorganized last year and would respond to every Croatian attack with putting into action all its corps. Croatian President Franjo Tudjman on Jan 12 notified the United nations he would not extend the mandate of U.N. Protection Force [UNPROFOR] in Croatia beyond March 31. Croatian politicians have lately reiterated that Zagreb would try to force its authority upon the republic of Serb Krajina.

The republic of Serb Krajina was proclaimed in 1991 by Serbs in their ethnic and historical territories in the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia in response to Croatia's forcible secession from the then Yugoslav Federation. The Krajina territory became a U.N. Protected Area in the spring of 1992, since when it has been target of four Croatian aggressions.

Celeketic said his army would no longer let surprises take place like those around Maslenica and Medak in 1993, when Croatian units broke into these areas and massacred local Serb population. Answering reporters' questions, Celeketic said the Krajina army, unlike the Croatian Army, was fully observing the March 1994 agreement on ceasefire and cooperation with UNPROFOR. Celeketic said that UNPROFOR would not pull out despite Croatia's decision to this effect. Even if it did, said he, that could be only a limited dislocation of some of its parts.

Osijek Corps District Chief of Staff Interviewed

95BA0103A Osijek GLAS SLAVONIJE in Serbo-Croatian 31 Dec 94 p 36

[Interview with Major General Milivoj Petkovic, chief of staff of the Sijek Corps District, by Ana Diklic; place and date not given: "The Guard Brigades Are the Cutting Edge of the Croatian Army"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Major General Milivoj Petkovic is remembered by many for his frequent television statements in the time of the fiercest conflicts in Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1992 and 1993, when he was chief of staff of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO]. Asked whether he felt more like a soldier or like a politician in that time, he replied that it seemed to him that he was more politician than soldier, which was the last thing he wanted, but that the circumstances were such that they offered little choice.

On six occasions he took part in the negotiations in Geneva as a member of the delegation, and he has often met with Vance, Stoltenberg, and Owen and many other authorized representatives of world politics during the negotiations in Croatia.

Volunteer

Milivoj Petkovic was born in 1949 in Sibenik. He is married and is the father of two daughters, students of law and economics. In July 1991, he left the former JNA [Yugoslav People's Army]. Before that he had served in Slovenia, and then he taught at the Military Academy in Zadar. He says with pride that his service in the Croatian Army [HV] began in the 113th Sibenik Brigade, and that he commanded defense of the city of Sibenik at the time when "they both fell." He remained until April 1992 in what then was the Split Operational Zone. He informed General Bobetko at the time that he wanted to join the Croatian Defense Council as a volunteer.

[Petkovic] The reason was simple. The Croatian people in Bosnia-Herzegovina needed help. The Croatian Defense Council was neither organized nor structured. They lacked officers at the command level. The Kupres-Livno battle zone was important because of the danger that the chetniks might cut off the forces of the HV in the southern part of Croatia. Fast action was needed. After the penetration in the Kupres-Livno battle zone was halted, the enemy opened a number of combat zones in Bosnia-Herzegovina, everywhere where there were Croats. I was chief of the General Staff of the HVO, and I stayed all of 28 months instead of the two or three that were planned.

[Diklic] Did you have any other overwhelming reasons for returning to the HV aside from orders?

[Petkovic] No. By that time, a good command cadre had been created in the HVO. General Tihomir Blaskic had taken good hold of the job and under the Washington Agreement it was judged and agreed that I should return to the HV in August of this year. President Tudjman signed my appointment as chief of staff of the Osijek Corps District.

[Diklic] The Osijek Corps District is the largest in Croatia. The assessment is that if the decision is made to reestablish the constitutional and legal order in all parts of Croatia militarily, this is where it would be most difficult.

[Petkovic] There are several well-known reasons why these areas have always had particular strategic importance, and the desire of the Serbs to capture these areas and cross the Danube has always been there. Let us hope that we will reach the borders of Croatia peacefully; however, the resolution cannot be postponed indefinitely, nor is the patience of the Croatian people inexhaustible. If the Supreme Command decided on the military option to reintegrate the temporarily occupied territories of the Republic of Croatia, those would be very complicated and very fierce military operations. The conditions for waging war are specific in the plains, which are intersected by a great number of water obstacles and settlements.

A High Level of Training

[Diklic] It is in Slavonia that the aggressor has inflicted the greatest destruction of settlements, causing huge casualties in the civilian population. In case of the military option, would civilian targets be exposed to destruction?

[Petkovic] In this area, the military option would make it necessary for the Croatian Army to carry out a powerful strike and repel the enemy over the border into Serbia. Out of a desire to lower the morale of the Croatian population and to cause a panic, the tactic of the Serbs has been to strike civilian targets. Because of those well-known tactics, but also because of the particular feature of the terrain, which I have mentioned, it is clear that some of the civilian targets would be subject to attack once again. In case of military action, there would be casualties, but incomparably less, because the circumstances and balance of power are altogether different from what they were before.

[Diklic] The Osijek Corps District has two Guard divisions, the 3d and the 5th. It is often said that the Guard brigades are the cutting edge of the Croatian Army, and it is taken for granted that they would be made up of elite troops. How great is their actual effectiveness?

[Petkovic] This corps district has well-organized, well-trained, and mobile units, especially the Guard units. It sometimes seems to me that a small injustice has been done in coverage of the 3d and 5th Guard Brigades and that not enough has been said about the size of their contribution in the Homeland War. The Army need not be universally present in the public eye, but when someone has achieved the success of the 3d and 5th Brigades, then that should be emphasized.

Every army must constantly prepare itself, learn, conduct exercises, and equip itself, and it must not allow self-satisfaction to prevail even for a moment. When the combat capabilities of those units were reviewed, they showed a high level of training and war experience—abilities, that is, that offer high guarantees.

[Diklic] You have given the units in the Osijek ZP [Corps District] high marks. Does this mean that the same can be said of command personnel?

[Petkovic] Every army, even armies with a lengthy and successful tradition, always have a problem of creating quality command personnel. Most of our commanders at all levels gained their first military experience in the Homeland War. Some of them have certain military knowledge, but it is not always applicable in practice, because the theory is stereotyped.

As I have said, there is constant specialized training in the Army; however, we cannot expect Croatia in two years, the time the Croatian Military School has existed, to get all the educated and trained command personnel it needs. It is certain that the Croatian Army will be making constant investments in the education of its personnel so that we get superb and effective fighting men. I emphasize that our commanders have combat experience and knowledge, and, most important, they are ready to learn and acquire new skills.

An Up-to-Date Army

[Diklic] Croatian Defense Minister Susak and U.S. Secretary of Defense Perry signed a Memorandum on Cooperation in Washington, and part of it pertains to the training of our officers in military schools in the United States. Will the Defense Ministry be sending any officers from this district to university-level military schools in the United States?

[Petkovic] I cannot give you an altogether specific answer to your question, but certain preparations for the training of officers with the help of the United States are under way. It should be borne in mind that as soon as the list is made up, the candidates will go through extensive preparations—from learning and improving their language on down—before they depart.

The Croatian Army is preparing itself to adopt the school system of Western armies, but with certain adaptations to our conditions, of course. Combined methods will certainly be used at the beginning in order to achieve the desired results in the shortest possible time. We will at the same time use the services of foreign instructors, advisers, and lecturers, and send our officers for training in the United States and other Western countries. There certainly will be occasions for training outside the borders of Croatia, but a certain amount of patience would not be a bad thing.

[Diklic] Now that we are talking about officers of the HV, the question of ranks is inevitable. Assistant Defense Minister Juras, M.A., has declared on several occasions that there will be a revision of the ranks. Do you know anything more about that?

[Petkovic] Yes, I have heard about that, but I must admit that I do not know how it will be done. I personally do not believe that anyone's rank will be "taken away," but I see that statement as one of a number of moves to define the profile of command personnel.

[Diklic] Nevertheless, it is a fact that there have been oversights in the recommendation and awarding of ranks to commissioned and noncommissioned officers and that a certain number of officers have been awarded high ranks when they did not meet the educational requirements!

[Petkovic] We must be mindful of the times in which the ranks were awarded, and those were times when the desire was to award some recognition for what had been done and to use the rank to create responsibility. It became evident that there were oversights, but every individual who has a high rank, but does not have the necessary education, will be offered an opportunity to acquire that education if he wants to stay in the Army.

Certain criteria have now been prescribed which have to be met to receive a particular rank, because if we are creating an up-to-date army with up-to-date equipment, we also have to have educated people in that army.

Discipline

[Diklic] In the police reports in daily newspapers we often read that crimes have been committed by Croatian soldiers. I will not ask you for a figure on the extent to which this kind of behavior is caused by posttraumatic stress, but what is your assessment of discipline in our units?

[Petkovic] Because of the circumstances that prevail in this area, it is not possible to eliminate incidents altogether. It is certain that there are fewer incidents and crimes in those units where order and discipline are on a higher level.

It would be easier to strengthen discipline and introduce more order if units had their own facilities; however, most of our people are outside, in the field, and they have to be on the alert at every moment. Under such circumstances it is difficult to monitor every individual.

You must not forget that in spite of the efforts of the officials of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and military police we still have quite a few people who are not soldiers, but have come by the uniform and weapon illegally.

In spite of all those aggravating circumstances, we must acknowledge that in some places we have commanders who do not know their men well enough, which is a major mistake, because otherwise they could act preventively.

It is quite clear that the public is justifiably upset when they see in front of houses a great number of automobiles with HV plates being used by individuals outside of working hours and without authorization.

It sometimes seems to me that official cars are not as well kept as private ones. We have a very clear plan for 1995 and will do something to minimize incidents of every kind.

[Diklic] Has any commander been punished because a member of the unit he commands has committed a crime?

[Petkovic] The commander must be accountable for everything that happens in the unit. In addition to education, we also have a high responsibility to strengthen responsibility on the part of command personnel. A negative image of the entire Croatian Army must not be created because of individuals who cause incidents.

All the responsibility does not lie with the perpetrators of crimes, but some of the responsibility also lies with command structure.

Being a commander does not mean merely commanding, being mindful of the battlefield, or equipment, but above all to know one's men in the unit and be concerned about them.

Responsibility

[Diklic] Have there been cases when a permissive attitude has been adopted toward individuals because of their contributions to defense of the homeland?

[Petkovic] Every honor is paid to contributions and meritorious individuals; however, no one can break the law on the basis of his contributions and create an atmosphere in which the public will be frightened when they see an armed soldier.

No one's contributions relieve him of responsibility!

[Diklic] You said that the Croatian Army has a great deal of work ahead of it in 1995. What message would you give to the public and to members of the Croatian Army?

[Petkovic] First of all, I would send my good wishes for happiness and health in the coming year to all inhabitants of Slavonia. I have been welcomed and well-received in Osijek and Slavonia, and I personally would like to get to know as many people and Slavonian customs as possible.

I believe that efforts will be made by the Croatian Supreme Command toward peaceful reintegration of the temporarily occupied areas. If it has to be different, the Croatian Army is ready. We are using every free moment, and will continue to do so, to train and strengthen our units, to create a strong and up-to-date Croatian Army that is free of anything negative.

Tudjman Opens New Ministry of Development

LD2601173195 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 26 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] At the beginning of the program we have a report on a ceremony in the Ministry of Development and Reconstruction: In the presence of President Franjo Tudjman, Prime Minister Nikica Valentic, and numerous members of the government, a ceremony was held in this ministry to mark the beginning of its work. Here is a report by Mira Baric:

[Baric] President Tudjman stressed in his welcoming speech the special importance of the newly founded ministry for the elaboration of national programs, strategic guidelines for the development of Croatia, and the survival of the Croatian people.

[Begin Tudjman recording] This meeting here today at the opening of this ministry is the best proof of the level of importance that the Croatian state leadership attaches to the founding of this ministry and the tasks ahead of you.

Deputy prime ministers, senior officials, and legal and executive authorities: You have great and responsible tasks ahead of you. I am convinced that you, who have already been involved in cooperation with all other bodies of the Croatian state authorities and all of us, will carry them out in the interests of the Croatian people. I wish you success in your work and I declare the work of this ministry open. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Skopje Seeks Military Cooperation With Russia

LD2601145495 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1343 GMT 26 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Skopje, 26 Jan (TANJUG)—Blagoj Handziski, the minister for defense of The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia [FYROM], stressed the need for more pronounced military cooperation during his talks with Yuriy Trusin, the Russian diplomatic representative in Skopje, the Defense Ministry reports.

Handzijski presented Trusin with a letter for Russian Defense Minister General Pavel Grachev. In it he stresses the need for cooperation in the sphere of defense. A statement says that "an exchange of groups of experts is planned, so they can review possible fields of cooperation" once they have received feedback information.

This meeting was held only a day after a high-level U.S. military delegation, headed by Under Secretary for Defense Walter Slocombe, left Skopje.

U.S. military delegations have paid frequent visits to Skopje since the signing of a memorandum on military cooperation between the FYROM and the United States in November last year, whereas cooperation with the Russian Federation in this sphere has only been hinted at.

Education Commission Supports Albanian University

AU2601162295 Skopje MIC in English 26 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Two meetings took place in the Tetovo Local Assembly yesterday, both behind closed doors. The reporters were disabled from attending the meetings, due to which the information is not obtained first-hand, VECER writes.

In the first case, the Education Commission of Tetovo Local Assembly held a meeting, at which information in relation to the so-called Tetovo University in Albanian language was presented by Murtezan Ismaili. Otherwise, this time the "prohibited" activities of the police were discussed, which, allegedly, violated the laws in a most flagrant way, by breaking into houses, hearing, calling people up for "informative discussions," etc. The Commission gave its support to the "Tetovo university" and concluded for the police not to interfere any further, and that all the obligations be passed on to the Ministry of Education.

The other meeting on the premises of the Tetovo Local Assembly was held with relatives of the people convicted in the affair "Albanian paramilitary." Here, we also noticed Arben Dzaferi, president of the PDP [Party for Democratic Prosperity] seceded wing, as well as the independent MP Hisen Ramadani. The newspaper VECER writes: "Everything we understood scaled down to this: The present expressed deep concern over the affair with the Albanian paramilitary." The president of the Tetovo Local Assembly Shakir Aliti said that the "Assembly only provided the premises for holding the meeting," and that he was unfamiliar with the details.

Officials Disagree on Use of Minority Languages

AU2601211195 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 26 Jan 95 p 4

[Article by L. Kitanovska: "Which Constitutional Regulation Can Be Applied?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Recently, the Tetovo Assembly requested the opinion of the Ministry of Justice on the use of minorities' languages in communal assemblies where minorities comprise the majority of the population. The deputies referred to the decision of the Constitutional Court of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia] which, according to Article 12 of the Law on Administration, decided that only the Macedonian language and the Cyrillic alphabet are in official use. In reply, the Ministry of Justice said that—in this case—the Albanian language can be officially used in the Tetovo Assembly in addition to Macedonian. Due to the problems that appeared after this reply we asked Minister of Justice Vlado Popovski (who also participated in the elaboration of the text of the constitution) for a more detailed explanation. He said:

"The question that was asked by the Tetovo Assembly was whether in this assembly where there was equipment for simultaneous translation from Albanian into Macedonian and vice versa the use of the languages of the nationalities is constitutional and legal, particularly after the decision of the Constitutional Court by which Article 12 of the Law on Administration—related to the use of the languages of the minorities—was canceled as contrary to the constitution. We informed the deputies that the decision of the Constitutional Court was related to the practice that might possibly occur in the bodies of the administration. We pointed out that the Commune of Tetovo is not an administrative body, and therefore this decision cannot be applied to it. The Assembly of the Tetovo Commune is a body of local self-management. There is another constitutional article related to this, that is Article 7, as well as a law that regulates local self-management and its bodies. Therefore, concerning the Tetovo Assembly, where there is equipment for simultaneous translation, only Article 7, Paragraph 2 of the constitution can be applied. It says that in local self-managements where there is a majority of another nationality, the language and alphabet of this nationality can be used in addition to the official Macedonian language and the Cyrillic alphabet, as it has been regulated by law. Article 7 Paragraph 2 is categorical in recognizing the right to use the languages of the nationalities in addition to the Macedonian language, as an absolute right, which means that the law cannot condition the use of the language of a nationality. It only says that the methods and the techniques of the application of this right will be prescribed, but it cannot regulate indispensable conditions for the fulfillment of this right. Because of these reasons Paragraph 2 of Article 7 can be directly applied, which is not the case with Paragraph 3 of the same article of the constitution, which says that in units of local self-management in which there is a substantial number of nationalities, in addition to the Macedonian language and the Cyrillic alphabet the language and alphabet of the nationality can be used under conditions and in the way the law prescribes. The logic is very clear. Paragraph 2 of Article 7 is directly applicable if there is no law or if there is a law that is contrary to this paragraph, and Paragraph 3 of Article 7 is not directly applicable. When we say direct application we refer to the law.

"Therefore, we said in our reply that the practice that has been introduced with the technique of simultaneous translation is in the spirit of the constitution and it can be applied even before the promulgation of the Law on Local Self-Management that can just regulate whether the translation will be simultaneous or consecutive referring the use of languages in communes that have a majority of nationalities. Apparently, the simultaneous interpretation techniques are the most modern way for using two languages during a session. That is all there was between the Tetovo Assembly and this Ministry We believe that our opinion is quite correct, although an opinion is nothing but an opinion, but it has an authority because it is an opinion of the Ministry of Justice, and I personally stand in its defense."

When he was asked to comment on the opinion of the justice minister, Judge Milan Nedkov said the following at yesterday's news conference that was held in the building of the Constitutional Court:

"I was informed about the statement of the minister by the press and I reacted as a citizen. The Constitutional Court has clearly defined its positions concerning Article 7 of the Macedonian Constitution. The Constitutional Court is not competent to make official political statements of this state. However, if the minister decides to articulate the question of the use of languages, we shall have to present our views. It is the government's duty to assess the view of the minister on this question."

President of the Court Jovan Proevski added that the regulations of the Law on Administration on which the Court had made interventions was based on the constitutional law of the system of 1974 and they are not compatible with the Macedonian Constitution. "On this topic we said that in the procedure, that is in the work of the administrative bodies, only Article 7 Paragraph 1 can be taken into account, that is that only the Macedonian language and the Cyrillic alphabet are in official use. This question has been thus closed and the decision was not related to the use of languages in units of local self-management. This issue is outside the decision of the Constitutional Court. We are not competent to decide which language will be used in a unit of local self-management, because the Constitutional Court is not competent to give an opinion on this issue. However, when we want to say something, we point to Article 7, Paragraphs 1, 2, and 3, according to which there is no dilemma about the law in force, under which conditions the languages of the nationalities can be used in places where they are the majority, where a law should regulate the way and the conditions for this."

Chamber Deputies Approve Two New Ministers

AU2601210595 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1800 GMT 26 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Slovene Government has two new ministers. At an extraordinary session today, in a secret ballot, the State Chamber deputies elected Zoran Thaler as the new foreign minister while the Ministry for Economic Relations and Development will, as of now, be led by Janko Dezelak instead of Davorin Kracun.

Fifty-three deputies voted for Zoran Thaler and 24 against, while 42 deputies voted for Janko Dezelak and 34 against. Both new ministers have already been sworn in.

Jansa Views Military, Elections, Coalition

AU2601210995 Ljubljana SLOVENEC in Slovene 21 Jan 95 p 27

[Interview with Social Democratic Party President Janez Jansa by Janez Markes; place and date not given: "The Bill Will Grow"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Markes] The parliament recently debated the interpellation of Defense Minister Kacin's work. As a former defense minister, you probably follow Slovene defense "trends" pretty closely. To what extent is the interpellation connected to expert opinions on the Slovene Army's declining combat readiness?

[Jansa] The combat readiness of the Slovene Army has been questionable for quite some time. Last year they canceled a joint tactical exercise of all Slovene Army branches that had been planned for quite a while. The reasons stated—cadre problems and problems due to "holes" in some Slovene Army branches—are primarily a result of Defense Ministry purges. Key posts are now in the hands of those who did not excel during the Slovenian war, while those who had won the war and subsequently built the Slovene Army are mostly in insignificant posts and various offices, "swept under the steps," or even at the employment bureau. No one can convince me that cadres from the former Yugoslav People's Army who are now gaining prominence in the Defense Ministry can defend Slovenia in the event of a war. Regarding the interpellation, sufficient reasons were stated in the explanation. Even 20 percent of what has been put forward would in a normal state suffice for a minister to leave the post. If only one of the charges against Kacin had been proven to me during my term of office, I would have been replaced in a matter of days.

[Markes] During your office term, I recall there were large-scale polemics about your proposal to set up an air force unit. The ministry is now purchasing helicopters. However, one cannot detect any major polemics, least by the Liberal Democracy of Slovenia [LDS] which raised the most principled objections. How do you feel about this?

[Jansa] When we were passing the law on fundamental defense development programs, the LDS and the United List opposed the part of the law that mentioned the armed forces' air force component the most. The LDS, from whose ranks the current defense minister comes, is now without any serious criticism against purchasing the component it had opposed the most in the past. Kacin, on the one hand, claims that he is not violating the embargo and, on the other hand, that he is purchasing military helicopters. If he is not violating the embargo, then he is breaking the law because the law says that military hardware that is being purchased must meet NATO standards. If he is buying in accordance with the law, then he is violating the embargo, which is not controversial for me because the state has a right to defend itself. The Slovene Army needs helicopters; however, the question is whether it needs them first—for example, we currently need effective antiaircraft and armor- piercing arms. The last ones were purchased after the war, and some of them are already outdated. During Kacin's office term, they did not purchase a single piece. [passage omitted]

[Markes] Therefore, Slovenia at this time does not know how it would defend itself and who might pose a danger? Is Slovenia endangered?

[Jansa] Slovenia is definitely not as safe as it could be. For a normal life, we would need to raise the security level that emerged after our international recognition. Our safety is influenced most by the unresolved problems with our neighbors, the war in the Balkans, and a stalemate in negotiations about drawing closer to European alliances. While we "are standing still," the world is "moving on." Because of the events in Russia, some international doctrines are adjusting very pronouncedly and rapidly and international policy is changing. By dithering, we are actually lagging behind these trends, and this could push us back into the Balkan cauldron. Matters can very rapidly turn in this direction without us being fully aware of it. Especially over the last few months, when we should have responded, Slovenia has lacked a foreign policy, while our security policy was fundamentally linked to the security policy. [sentence as published] These are two components that cannot be separated.

[Markes] It is precisely in foreign affairs that Prime Minister Drnovsek has been criticized. The question of the relationship between Slovene internal and external policy has arisen. What should one do to gain the highest possible yield that would benefit our state. What is the link between these problems and the fundamental questions of democracy and continuity between the former communist and the present notoriously democratic authorities?

[Jansa] The essence of today definitely lies in politics. Even national interests are being strictly subordinated to narrow interests. The Aquileia episode speaks for itself. The government, headed by the prime minister—

expecting that it would link the mandate on associate EU [European Union] membership negotiations with party politics—in doing so exceeded all reasonable limits and sold out the national interest for its own benefit. Drnovsek even went as far as to sacrifice his foreign minister. [passage omitted]

[Markes] In Normandy, U.S. President Clinton drew a sharp line between antifascism and the liberation from communism. It seemed that he more or less equalized both totalitarian systems. Neither Yeltsin nor [Slovene President] Kucan were invited to this ceremony; as a matter of fact, no one from the former communist countries was....

[Jansa] This is true, although Kucan tried all year to get to this ceremony. Numerous studies were conducted on this subject; enormous quantities of energy and probably also state money were wasted on this. In Europe and in the world, the matter became self-explanatory a long time ago. We will not fool anyone with celebrations this year, as this only serves to deceive the domestic public. They are trying to rehabilitate all the events in the 1945-1990 period. This year will be the fifth anniversary of the downfall of the totalitarian regime in Slovenia, as in April 1990 we held the first free elections in Slovenia. This is also an event worth marking. I think we will do this, too.

[Markes] How?

[Jansa] In cooperation with those democratic forces that have contributed to such a shift.

[Markes] Will there be a polarization? Is there a possibility of cutting ties with the old system here?

[Jansa] This cannot be accomplished through celebrations. This can only be accomplished by changing political powers in Slovenia, for which we need new elections. I am firmly convinced that this will happen at the coming elections, that this discontinuity will be achieved to a productive and feasible extent. The neo-communist side with its sectarianism, which is reflected in these celebrations, will probably even contribute to this. [passage omitted]

[Markes] In between Premiki and Okopi [two books written by Jansa], one could see the political scene gaining in definition, from the initial partial naivety to the recognition of reality. It all started with the publication of the daily by Stane Kavcic, the way Niko Kavcic brought it out into the light....

[Jansa] We initially suspected that there were some sort of political connections; however, we failed to see them. It was, nevertheless, good that the book was published because it explained the background to the Slovene political scene of the 1970's, while effectively discrediting those who were Kucan's main opponents in the struggle for domination within the party.

[Markes] A circle of "credible people," as we can see in Okopi, has narrowed, there are disappointments, and masks are coming off. Where is the final station, when one can tell whom to trust and whom not?

[Jansa] Perhaps the circle of people who were known from the front pages is narrowing; however, on the other hand, the circle of people who are able to see through the game is widening. This is proven by the success of the Slovene spring parties at the latest elections. The reason for this situation, as you have said, lies in the period that we refer to as the transition. This is happening in numerous other countries, too. Many of those who opposed the previous regime reached their pinnacle in 1987 and 1988, when they tried to satisfy themselves with a sort of interparty pluralism. However, two thirds of the 50 members of the Committee for Protection of Human Rights, nevertheless, supported the establishment of a multiparty system, while one third, led by Tomaz Mastnak, Marko Hren, and the ZSMS [Alliance of the Slovene Socialist Youth] cadre, opposed it. They later accepted the platform of parliamentary democracy, and the ZSMS actually did not manage to shed its name for a while. The entire structure of people who even at that time had problems with terms such as party, multiparty system, and parliamentary democracy is now gathered in the Liberal Democracy and the United List. Whenever possible, they still stress their extra party status, even though in real life they swear by a savage and ruthless power struggle. They are merely interested in money and profit or, as Rudi Seligo says, in the spoils. [passage omitted]

[Markes] How long do you give the current government?

[Jansa] The fact is that the current coalition does not equal a program story. It is more of a trade company with domestic and international trade. There is always a conflict and past experiences show that it is very difficult to maintain a coalition once it starts disintegrating. One can prolong its life; however, a dead organism cannot be kept alive—it starts to rot and finally falls apart. If this happens before two years, then we will have early elections; otherwise there will be elections the following year. The more time that passes before the next elections, the greater the bill for everything that the current grand coalition did or failed to do will be. Bearing all this in mind—primarily because of the interests of Drnovsek and his LDS—one can predict early elections.

Defense Ministry Official Discusses Procurement

95BA0091C Maribor VECER in Slovene 28 Dec 94 p 4

[Interview with Bojan Suligoj, state secretary in the Defense Ministry, by Bojan Bauman; place and date not given: "The State Is Announcing Bids for Weapons"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *It will be possible to manufacture some equipment for the Slovene Army at home; 28 armament projects.*

After parliament adopted the medium-term plan for arming the Slovene Army, and among other things approved a million German marks [DM], the Defense Ministry (and other ministries as well) launched what is currently one of the most demanding Slovene projects. At this time we know that the first of seven helicopters ordered is already in Slovenia, and that is the first modernization in the future plan for arming the Slovene Army.

There are consequently a lot of reasons to interview State Secretary Bojan Suligoj, who is responsible in the Defense Ministry precisely for the implementation of this medium-term plan. At the beginning of the conversation, the state secretary explained precisely the purchase of the helicopters, which aroused interest and also criticism among the Slovene public.

"The helicopter deal was already started by my predecessor. The foundations for the job, i.e., the paperwork, testing of the equipment, evaluations, and the preface to writing the plan, were consequently known even before my arrival. I carefully checked precisely those details that the media characterized as controversial; for example, the selection and type of helicopters. To be frank, I did not find any deviations from legal standards or regulations in this regard. Our pilots tested several types of helicopters before reaching the conclusion that the Bell helicopters were the ones that met their needs most thoroughly. It is also important that through these purchases, we are ensuring standardized logistics."

Sneznik Was Too Late

[Bauman] There were several details that were controversial about the helicopter purchase: the announcement, the choice of Iskra as the supplier, and, for instance, the rejection of Sneznik Grosuplje, which is authorized for such transactions.

[Suligoj] Several enterprises responded to the public announcement and were prepared to participate as agents. In returning the deposits, we explained our requirements in detail to all the firms. During the period of the tender, two bids then reached us: the first one from the Bell enterprise, and the other from Augusto-Bell. The other bids were not suitable for the purchases that we had specified in our project. The expert tender commission then made a decision and proposed Iskra Commerce as the agent. Sneznik's bid arrived a full week after the tender was closed. Because of the delay, it was not possible to consider their application. They are completely responsible for that.

Public Competition for the Agent

[Bauman] At this time, several contracts for modernizing the Slovene Army are about to be signed. In spite of the difficulties that you are talking about, were these deals won through public tenders, which otherwise are not always necessary for the purchase of military equipment?

[Suligoj] We have chosen all the agents to date through public competitions. On the basis of the decree on special-purpose equipment for military matters, a public competition is not necessary. No country in the world announces a public tender for military procurement. Nevertheless, we are obligated to gather several high-quality bidders. It is only when we choose the equipment that we will import that we announce a public competition for agents. We will choose them on the basis of public competitions.

[Bauman] And how many Slovene agents are there that are capable of handling the transactions that you contract for at the Slovene Defense Ministry?

[Suligoj] The possible agents are from all the enterprises that have permits to import the appropriate equipment. No firm in our country is so specialized that it could always completely satisfy our technical requirements. That is also why we do not decide on a single importer in advance.

[Bauman] Then there are no particular obstacles to your ministry's doing business with Sneznik?

[Suligoj] That is correct. If they meet the criteria that we require in the tender, then they will be treated on the same basis as the rest of the bidders. We ask the firms that we choose for data on whether they are capable of completing the job, whether they have experience... that all wins a few additional points.

Support Within Reasonable Limits

[Bauman] It will certainly also be possible to order some of the equipment in the medium-term development programs from domestic factories as well, and consequently it will not be necessary to import everything at world prices.

[Suligoj] That is also our strategic orientation. In the beginning, some products will probably be too expensive for that reason. Nevertheless, we in Slovenia can no longer "afford" not to procure for ourselves at home most of the strategic materiel that we need for supplying the Army and for its activity. We are aware that the Slovene Army is too small to support a traditional defense industry. That is why we will also continue to seek bidders abroad. It is a cheaper and also higher-quality alternative. We will support defense production within reasonable limits, and where we will also expect a commercial profit for our industry. At the beginning of next year, we are planning a public competition to turn over some parts of defense production.

[Bauman] Some of the strategic products that we will produce domestically can be readily singled out: ammunition, explosives, and infantry weapons. Are you speaking within that framework?

[Suligoj] Yes, we are talking about some of that appropriate equipment. The projects have been prepared and the Slovene Government has already confirmed them.

[Bauman] According to our information, Sneznik in Grosuplje is still the only one in Slovenia that is authorized for defense production.

[Suligoj] The former federal legislation still applies to commerce and defense production. According to it, the ministry or the government issues permits for production and for trading in weapons and military equipment. It is consequently not necessary for just one enterprise to have a permit and a monopoly. No defense industry in the world is closed, and market rules are followed everywhere.

Customers and Contractors at the Same Time

[Bauman] In other words, that may mean that you were not satisfied with Sneznik's achievements in the past. So what happened there that you took away their exclusive right to defense production?

[Suligoj] Nothing in particular happened. There are nevertheless some facts that dictated that decision. On restudying the overall activity of Sneznik's branch in Grosuplje and the activities that were already taking place, we determined that while Sneznik had the concession, certain services were established through which they wanted to take over all of the ministry's commercial affairs. With the development programs included, that would be more than a monopolistic position, even though we had already had those services at the ministry ever since independence. We had taken most of the machinery and equipment from our shops, which we had previously taken over from the Yugoslav Army. At the Defense Ministry, however, our technical institute, where smaller and medium-sized repairs were already being conducted, was already charged with maintaining that weaponry. It was thus a matter of taking over a job that had already been done. The facilities were simply separated. The branch of the public enterprise was then supposed to do most of the work for the ministry, like a monopolistic commercial organization. The project that the ministry's previous leadership conducted through the enterprise, in our opinion, was also excessively large and with no economic basis.

We started to pay attention to the branch when some of our logistics managers tried to get jobs at Grosuplje for completely practical reasons—because of higher wages. It even happened that people were sending themselves orders for a while. In short, it was a matter of a monopoly, and commissions. That was unacceptable.

[Bauman] The workers who were employed at the ministry did that on their own account, without the ministry's knowledge, and then joined a sort of by-pass firm?

[Suligoj] It was all legal. They tried to work for two firms at the same time. On one hand they were the customers, and on the other hand the contractors for the same job. With such findings, the minister took steps, and as of 1 January we are making a transition to doing business commercially.

[Bauman] Will a special permit from the ministry be needed from now on to produce military equipment and weapons?

[Suligoj] No. Everyone who is registered and has a permit from the Defense Ministry now can engage in defense production. Numerous enterprises attempted defense production in the former Yugoslavia. The former Yugoslav defense industry market was also strongly expanded into Slovenia as well, but Belgrade set up shops in a very well-considered strategic manner. Thus, after the collapse of Yugoslavia, we were not left with a single factory that could independently build a single piece of weaponry. They only entrusted to us the manufacture of individual subassemblies.

[Bauman] Except at Iskra?

[Suligoj] Even with respect to the production there one can maintain that it is only part of some larger system. Some products that they are manufacturing now were only developed after the collapse of the Yugoslav defense industry.

Improvisations Are Not Possible

[Bauman] Let us go back for a moment to what is currently a more relevant topic: the purchase of military equipment abroad and the projects that you are heading. Are you satisfied with what has been achieved? Your predecessor, in fact, left in the summer, since among other things he was not informed about all the projects, which were consequently taking place without his knowledge.

[Suligoj] I am satisfied. How satisfied others are with me depends upon them and the results of our work. Perhaps I am only disappointed because I am used to immediate results. The public, of course, is not particularly interested in how much work, analysis, and coordination was necessary before signing the contracts. That is why it is also impossible for me to be thoroughly familiar with all the talks that my associates are conducting at home and throughout the world. The key matters, however, go through our project leadership. Agreements on our own account are not possible in this process. Partners that would conduct talks bypassing the project group simply would not have any real interlocutor, even if they talked to the defense minister directly.

[Bauman] It is a known fact that you now have 28 projects open. What would happen if there were suddenly a lack of money for all of them? Parliament has already announced a cutback in all national programs. Defense will probably not be an exception in that regard.

[Suligoj] We will think about it when that decision is made. Now the development of the Slovene Army has been adjusted to the amount of money already approved. If there were a reduction, it would be necessary to sit down at the table and put an aircraft on one side, and a tank on the other. Then the experts should know whether an aircraft in the air or 10 tanks on the ground constitute more combat readiness. Today the Slovene Army is ours primarily in name only. We are still using the weapons that we took over from the Yugoslav Army.

Federal

Former Greek Prime Minister Meets Milosevic

LD2601141395 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1247 GMT 26 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Belgrade, 26 Jan (TANJUG)—Konstandinos Mitsotakis, former prime minister of Greece and honorary president of the New Democracy Party, said in Belgrade today that Serbia and Yugoslavia played a very significant role in restoring peace, and that he believes that sanctions should be lifted immediately, or at least, gradually.

The Greek guest, who arrived in Belgrade this morning, told reporters that following two hours of talks with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic he believes that lifting sanctions is the international community's obligation. He added that this is the view advocated by Greece. In his words, he had interesting and friendly talks with President Milosevic. They focused on Greek-Serbian relations, the Bosnian crisis, and the situation in the Balkans.

"We exchanged views as friends," Mitsotakis said. He also said he believes that Serbia and "President Milosevic personally," could be very useful in solving the Skopje problem. "We are grateful because President Milosevic reiterated today his firm view that under no circumstances would his country recognize Skopje until its dispute with Greece is solved," Mitsotakis said. [passage omitted]

Lilic Views Policy, Status, Army Positively

AU2601120195 Belgrade VOJSKA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Jan 95 pp 5-7

[Interview with Zoran Lilic, president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and chairman of the Supreme Defense Council, by Miso Bojovic in Belgrade; date not given: "Peace Is Opening a New Perspective"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Bojovic] A difficult year is behind us, but it was at the same time an encouraging one. We started 1995 with great expectations. Will this year in your opinion bring a solution to the crisis in the former Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia? Can we hope that the turmoil in the Balkans will reach a state of peace?

[Lilic] Now, at the beginning of 1995 we are really optimistic because we worked very much during 1994. We improved our inner stability and the international position of our country. These things have enabled us a much better starting position than last year. That is why our citizens are right when they expect more this year.

Our biggest achievement is that we have succeeded in preserving peace, since it is peace that opens up new perspectives. Apart from that, a truce, which is more or less respected, has been reached in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina. This unfolding of events has given us new impetus and speeded up the activities of both the international community and the parties to the conflict toward the achievement of final peace. Negotiations based on the Vance plan are also under way between the republic of Serbian Krajina and the Republic of Croatia. Although there are disagreements and unrealistic requirements by one side every now and then, I still hope that the international community will not allow everything to be destroyed by an irrational move, which would do a lot of harm. I think that the international community has become aware of the fact that this would return us to the beginning again, and this setback would make the war go on.

If we take all this into consideration, we have to conclude that the materialization of the aims and interests of the Serbian people, which lived in one state before the violent secession of the former Yugoslav republics, is closer than ever.

Our inner stability under the sanctions primarily depends on the consistent implementation of the stabilization program, including monetary reconstruction and economic revival. Although both interior and exterior conditions are unfavorable, we have been very successful in this field, which is of decisive importance for our present and future life.

Just as peace is a value we must have, we must also preserve the results of the economic stabilization because both peace and economic stabilization are equally important not only for our progress but primarily for our survival.

These are important achievements in our official policy, of our republic and federal authorities, but also of all the citizens of the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia]. This is our joint accomplishment and we should work like this in future, too.

We shall concentrate our efforts on the preservation of peace and on a consistent implementation of the economic stabilization and recovery program. We can rightfully expect the sanctions to be lifted this year. It is well known that the FRY has met all the requirements necessary for the removal of the sanctions.

Life is still difficult in Yugoslavia, there are still people who are unemployed, but if we compare the present period with the same period in 1994, when we had chaos in the monetary system and on the market, it is clear that owing to our discipline in 1994 we now have clearly defined stabilization and development policies. The latest measures taken by our government prove that we are determined to remain consistent in the implementation of the economic program.

It is our aim to enable the people to live from their work. After we have created a completely safe economic environment and after the sanctions have been lifted, we can start developing a society of rich citizens and a rich country. We have both the human and economic potential to achieve this. Naturally, we shall have to work much more.

Based on its active and constructive peace policy, which is being increasingly recognized in the world, the FRY is convinced that 1994 was the last war year in the territory of the former Yugoslavia. We believe that peace will be reached in 1995 and that we shall start intensely working on an integration of Balkan countries. The Balkans should develop into a region of peace and economic prosperity. The FRY has all the prerequisites to be an important stability factor in the Balkans. I think that the achievement of this aim is much closer than it might seem at the moment.

[Bojovic] What is the position of the FRY in the international community?

[Lilic] The international position of the FRY has improved lately and this trend is continuing. Our position has improved primarily owing to the fact that the truth about the real reasons for the crisis in the former Yugoslavia has been accepted as well as to the recognition that the FRY is a key factor in the search for a solution to the consequences of the violent secession of the former Yugoslav republics. Our country is being more and more accepted as a partner not only in the peace process but also in bilateral relations with the neighboring and other countries in Europe and outside it. This can be illustrated by the fact that we had more than 100 meetings at a high or the highest level with official representatives of foreign states and governments during the first 11 months of 1994. Apart from that, there were also numerous visits and talks with parliamentary, party and other delegations. Belgrade is more and more often an international center of diplomacy.

Although Yugoslavia lives under sanctions, it is in permanent communication with the United Nations and its high-ranking representatives. Our consistent and very active peacekeeping policy could not be overlooked during the recent CSCE conference in Budapest. It is mentioned more and more often that this unnatural situation should be changed, that is that the FRY should become a full member of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. As is known, a CSCE delegation visited Yugoslavia recently, and there is mutual interest that Yugoslavia should return as a full member to this body. In other words, the process of reintegration of the FRY into the international community is already under way, and we are making efforts to speed up this process and to give it concrete forms. The FRY should have the position it deserves in international institutions, from which it was removed without any valid reasons.

[Bojovic] How do you assess changes in the Yugoslav Army regarding its transformation into a modern and professional organization that should not be under political influence?

[Lilic] The aspects you mentioned—a modern, professional and nonpolitical army—are the aims of the present army transformation. Although these aspects are relatively autonomous, they still depend on general changes in society.

As is known, the term "nonpolitical" means that the army is excluded from the political decisionmaking process.

Army structures have to understand politics, however, including the phenomenon of war as a political category, among other things. Without a complete understanding of political and military strategies pursued by influential international powers and countries expressing their expansionist tendencies toward the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, it is impossible to understand, anticipate, and—if we want to follow this theory through to the end—to make a war if it is imposed on us. In other words, if there is no professional understanding of complex social processes, no army can fulfill the role it has according to the constitution of any state.

I would like to mention that the Yugoslav Army is not a political factor, it has objective and constructive relations toward all political and social factors, but as a state institution it is—according to the Constitution—responsible only to the state.

It is clear that the transformation of the army into a modern and professional organization directly depends on available finances. In my opinion, the transformation carried out so far has brought the best results that could be expected under the present conditions—the combat-readiness of all commands, units and institutions has been preserved. As the chairman of the Supreme Defense Council I convinced myself that remarkable results had been achieved regarding combat-readiness.

[Bojovic] You said that professionalism in the army depends on the financial potential of a society. It obviously costs very much.... The Yugoslav Army will be financed with 7.5 percent of the gross national product, that is, with 1.6 billion dinar in 1995. This is certainly not optimal, but this is the most the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia can grant it under the present conditions. Do you as the chairman of the Supreme Defense Council think that the Yugoslav Army can accomplish its tasks with this money?

[Lilic] First, I would like to mention that your question is partially imprecise. The mistake you have made can be heard very often when the military budget is discussed. It is true that the military budget will be financed with 7.5 percent of the GNP in 1995, which is a lot of money, but you have to bear in mind that the 1,611 million dinars—the 1995 military budget—will be used to cover the costs of the defense of the country as a whole, not only the costs of the Army. These other costs include military pensions, for example, which is not known very well. The Yugoslav Army will be financed with 1,187.2 million dinar, which corresponds to 5.5 percent of the GNP.

If we know all this and if we know that our country wants peace, stability and economic prosperity, I can say that the 1995 budget for the army is neither small nor big. Understandably, this is not enough money to cover all Yugoslav Army needs, but the budget cannot be enlarged under the present conditions; the army has to share the fate of the people. I am convinced, however, that the Yugoslav Army will be able to defend the sovereignty, the territory, the independence and the constitutional order of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia with the budget it has been granted. We have to constantly bear in mind that during all these tumultuous years in which we have felt the consequences of the violent disintegration of the former Yugoslavia, we have succeeded in preserving peace.

[Bojovic] Some people think that the profit some military institutions make themselves should remain in the army.

[Lilic] The consideration that the money earned by some army units and institutions should remain either completely or partially in the army is supported by a certain number of army and political leaders. The Federal Defense Ministry made the proposal that should enable the Yugoslav Army to retain this money in order to cover a part of its costs with it. This would in any case be an important additional source of income, which would stimulate a more rational use of FRY property by the Army. This would also enable the Yugoslav Army to carry out preparations for the defense of the country more easily.

That is why I think that this initiative as well as other useful and rational proposals that would create favorable financial conditions for the functioning of the Yugoslav Army defense system should be supported.

[Bojovic] Do you expect that parallel with the modernization the number of army members could decrease in the near future?

[Lilic] In principle, yes. It is an aim of the modernization to reduce the number of army members. This is in my opinion the basic requirement to be fulfilled by the transformation—the Army should have fewer members, it should have modern equipment and be efficient in combat actions.

Further reductions of permanent Yugoslav Army members in peaceful times is directly connected to the financial assets we have, which is a limiting factor now. This means that the aforementioned processes will be brought in line with the objective financial possibilities of the state.

We have to bear in mind that the modernization has to include several aspects: organization, the search for modern operational and tactical solutions and more efficient education, the acquisition of new high-technology equipment, adapting of the information system.... Improvements in the aforementioned fields do not go hand in hand with personnel reductions.

The results achieved so far correspond to the aims set for the first transformation stage. A new stage, in which tasks are more complex and requirements for further changes more strict, has already started.

[Bojovic] Competitions for admission to military schools have just started. What are the prospects of the officers and noncommissioned officers who are at the beginning of their careers now?

[Lilic] Under the present circumstances and from the present perspective, when all of us, including professional soldiers, are forced to make extreme concessions, it is only natural that younger generations are less and less interested in the military profession. We must not forget, however, that the present beginners in the Army will complete their professional careers at the end of the first half of the 21st century, so that it can be expected that they will have far better conditions to establish themselves and to be adequately paid. This professional path is not easy, but I am convinced that the time ahead of us will be incomparably better also for Yugoslav Army professionals. Their prospects will be far better compared to the life and work of the generation they are replacing now. We hope and we do our best to enable this coming generation to establish itself not in a war but in peaceful times, to the benefit and prosperity of all our people.

[Bojovic] Basic criteria and a program for fostering Yugoslav Army traditions were elaborated last year. How do you as the chairman of the Supreme Defense Council assess the relation of the Yugoslav Army members toward this important issue?

[Lilic] I am convinced that the Yugoslav Army has a constructive and objective approach to the most valuable issue of our past, which was dominated by struggles for freedom.

Traditions, as an expression of collective memories, are an inexhaustible source of knowledge about the past, which enables us to better understand the present time and make predictions for the future. A large portion of our rich history—which proves that we have always been stable in this troublesome multinational and multiconfessional Balkan space on the border between several civilizations—had to be removed from the science, culture, civilization and our heroic military tradition without any valid reasons.

Therefore is a return to these sources not an expression of a romantic nostalgia but of the objective need of the present and future generations.

If examples of how wise our strategists were and what great victories our peoples achieved over foreign conquerors have been a part of military textbooks of almost all armies of the world for a long time already, it is only natural that we want to cherish our own traditions.

Having this orientation of society in mind, the Yugoslav Army introduced and celebrated for the first time last year a new anniversary of all Yugoslav Army commands, units, services, and institutions.

[Bojovic] The VOJSKA magazine is celebrating for the first time the day of its establishment—24 January. What do you think about our publications and would you like to propose something to us?

[Lilic] Since we met after the Book Fair in October 1994, I have seen that you have achieved appropriate results. They entitle you to expect even greater success in the future.

The VOJSKA magazine and military journals deserve special attention because they present the continuity of our war-waging capabilities in the best possible way and connect our experiences from the past with the achievements of the modern military practice.

If I am well informed, your publishing house printed the thousandth military book in 1994, which enables you to be compared to the biggest Yugoslav publishers. Apart from that, you have made a profit, so that you have not burdened the budget, which must be praised.

I expect that the publications of your house will considerably contribute to the improvement of the Yugoslav Army's reputation in Yugoslavia and abroad. I wish you much success in your complex and responsible work.

War Crimes Committee Member Interviewed

95BA0093A Belgrade DUGA in Serbo-Croatian 10-23 Dec 94 pp 29-32, 96

[Interview with Dr. Zoran Stankovic, a specialist in forensic medicine at the Military Medical Academy, by Zoran Markovic in Belgrade; date not given: "The War Has Quintupled the Number of Psychopaths"]

[FBIS Translated Text] When I was setting off for the interview with Dr. Zoran Stankovic, specialist in forensic medicine at the Military Medical Academy [VMA] in Belgrade, I was thinking: What kind of man would be "in communication" with dead people, victims of the cruel civil and interethnic conflict on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, almost daily for what is now a full three years?

His scalpel has worked on between 2,500 and 3,000 corpses, some preserved, some decayed, some wormy. Even that is not the final count, because I hear that he has not slackened his pace in recent months or recent days.

How can a man be a living witness to so many horrors, examine so much death from outside, from inside, and from the side, and still remain normal, to bounce his children in his lap every day, to go to the movies with his wife, to go to a cafe or a sporting event with his friends?

On my way to the interview with Stankovic, I had the title of my future article in my head: "Having Tea With the New Serbian Archibald Rice, Between the Coolers Containing Fresh Corpses...."

If at the trial in The Hague Prosecutor Goldstown files a complaint against any criminal who has committed an atrocity against any unfortunate Serbian soul, then I am convinced that this will be based first of all on the meticulous medical documentation prepared by Dr. Zoran Stankovic, forensic physician of the VMA.

In a rather small office in the large hospital on Banjica, where my future informant does some of his work, I saw neither coolers nor fresh corpses; I did meet a man just turned 40, tall, large frame, a striking figure. A man who speaks slowly with a pure accent from southern Serbia, a man who grew up somewhere in the vicinity of Vranje.

He is a very tactful conversationalist, appreciates the person he is talking to, answers every question without any reservation and without footnotes, and puts no restrictions as to time or anything else on our conversation.

If I did not know that his is the most difficult and morbid of all the medical specialties, I would think he was a pediatrician. That is the impression he makes. But what is inside...this is something that will perhaps be learned only when the war stops altogether, when the organism and the soul begin to relax, freed of the professional and human stresses to which they have been subjected up to now.

He was born in the village Trgoviste, Vladicin Han Opstina. He finished high school there, then medical school in Nis, and he did his specialization in Belgrade.

Following the tumultuous events in Kosovo in 1981, he worked for a time as director of a garrison outpatient clinic in Pec....

[Stankovic] When the civil war began, I felt it was my professional and patriotic duty and obligation to become involved in fieldwork, and so that is what I am doing even today....

[Markovic] In the military service, he has the rank of lieutenant colonel ("special promotion"), but in the field they all refer to him only as "doctor."

He experienced his first professional satisfaction in April of this year, when the Serbian Medical Society awarded him a commendation "for organizing the health service under wartime conditions." He was nominated for this high recognition in his field by his fellow surgeons in civilian hospitals. And now, the other day he also became the only physician from the territory of the former Yugoslavia included on the list of experts in forensic medicine of the United Nations... even though he has accused the personal informant of the UN secretary general of slandering Yugoslavia, and even though he recently had a hot professional debate with the principal prosecutor of the international tribunal established by the Security Council.

Report on Manipulation With Croatian Dead Souls

Dr. Stankovic opens a large metal cabinet. He pulls out one of many boxes of documents. He puts it on the desk.

[Stankovic] Pick any file you like. Now, those three or four sheets of paper and six photographs, that is a man. That is all that is left of Risto Popovic. As though he never existed. And that is just one destiny. Look, I have quite a few destinies here, there are 48 cases in just this bundle. Three kilograms of paper. If we do nothing but see that the balance sheet of their lives does not come down to 3 kg of paper, then that really will be to our credit....

[Markovic] I leafed through the next file. The autopsy report on Nevenka Ercic, born 1914 in Jelcici. Data: who requested the autopsy, who performed it (Dr. Zoran Stankovic), "external findings...internal findings...opinion," and horrifying photographs of a female corpse with a large hole in the chest. Someone obviously ran a rod through her and then twisted her about on the ground, some hard ground, because the skin around the hole in the body was scraped off. Date of death: 14 January 1994.... It is all carefully typed, keyed with numbers and legends, certified with stamps and signatures, and slipped into a jacket of clean white paper....

My informant took pains to explain the injuries visible on the photograph of the corpse, and their interpretation reveals to us the secret of an old woman's death which the infertile soil of Bosnia had buried deep until recently, until the arrival of Dr. Zoran Stankovic in the village near Sehovici.... Dr. Stankovic is angry that foreign journalists should be so taken in by the "faked" reports of Croatian authorities about the alleged atrocities of the Serbs. What they are doing is more frequently commonplace propaganda aimed at calumniating one side in the war than the serious and responsible job of gathering evidence about atrocities against the law of war and against humanitarian law. People who work in forensic medicine in Croatia and have fled have testified that they were ordered to change the reports of examination of murdered Serbs to say that they died a natural death.

One professional document recently prepared by Dr. Zoran Stankovic is now on the list of UN documents. This is a paper on the manipulation with corpses, abundantly documented with original medical reports, findings, and death certificates. On 18 January of this year, the Croatian authorities sent a list of missing persons to the International Red Cross Committee. There were 365 names on the list of "wounded from Vukovar Hospital." No. 100291 refers to a certain Slobodan Letica, but this unfortunate was killed 27 May 1986 at 1600 hours in a traffic accident in Vukovar. There is an original death certificate for him and other documentation. Or, for example, Sead Saskin is listed as a missing person under No. 145, but we can read his name once again on the same list, this time as No. 200. The next example of manipulation is the name Ivan (Martin) Sencic (born 21 February 1964), who is listed as missing among the wounded of the Vukovar Hospital under No. 138 and again under No. 199.

Richard Goldstown's 60 Questions and Three Answers

[Stankovic] I once read that one of the courts in Nuremberg ruled that Yugoslavia had no right to defend itself in 1941 and that Hitler had a legitimate right to occupy our country. That is an official judgment of an international court. And now, no lawyer is going to say: "Gentlemen, look at that judgment, those are your courts!"

When Richard Goldstown, chief prosecutor of the International Tribunal in The Hague, was here recently, I put a very large number of questions to him: Someone counted more than 60. He did not answer three of all those questions. I asked him how it is that they are trying Tadic when they do not have a corpse? No answer. Again, he told me in conversation: "If it had not been for sanctions, apartheid would never have been dropped in the Republic of South Africa." "Fine," I say, "but that apartheid was supported by the United States. You killed blacks, however you liked and whenever you liked, you lived better than anyone. And now you say that the sanctions would not have fallen unless the Americans wanted...." Mr. Goldstown could not give me an answer to the question of how they could have lost our reports, which we sent to the United Nations, and how that court could present all crimes except those that were in our reports? Is that intentional or not?

[Markovic] Perhaps they found that the report was bad, because I know the one done by the Federal Ministry for Foreign Affairs had quite a few serious shortcomings....

[Stankovic] Even assume it was bad, then they should have noted that and so informed us....

[Markovic] What else did you ask Goldstown?

[Stankovic] I asked him why they had not sent their team to investigate the Markala case. Many civilians were casualties there, their experts should have fully elucidated all the circumstances of that atrocity. We offered our services, which they refused. And we suggested to them that in the presence of a Muslim, Croatian, or anyone's commission, we examine the victims and ascertain the injuries; that on the basis of the composition of the shrapnel steel we accurately state the origin of the manufacturer, did it come from the territory of the former Yugoslavia, from the United States, or from one of the Arab countries; that we analyze the composition of the gunpowder charge and say who the manufacturer was.... Why did they not accept our services? Mr. Goldstown did not give me an answer to that question either....

I also asked the esteemed prosecutor who would take responsibility for the death of the young woman who killed herself because she no longer had drugs? She left a farewell letter which stated: "You do not know what it means when you cannot get your breath, and you do not have the drug which makes it possible for you to breath. It is very difficult when a person cannot breathe. I had no other choice but to kill myself." The young woman poisoned herself. Who in the international community will take the responsibility? Who will take responsibility for those 20 babies in Banja Luka? No answer was forthcoming from Mr. Goldstown.

Certain international humanitarian organizations use strange standards when our people are involved. For example, Helsinki Watch came here only once, when we showed Gospic, and never turned up again. I criticized them in a television interview that was later broadcast in the evening; the very next morning they called for us to talk about that. Or again, is it not strange that Amnesty International has not come even once, although they are talking constantly about human rights?

They say that the victims in Kravice were fighting men. If Negoslav Eric of Kravice, born 1912, was a fighting man, then so be it; if Kristina Eric (born 1912) of Kravice was also a warrior, then so be it; or if Risto Opacic (born 1920) or Ljubica Opacic (age 75) were fighting men... and so on. Different standards are obviously being applied to the victims. Even in this community one hears the opinion expressed that "we should be quiet about that." If we are quiet about the atrocities, then one day they will happen again.... That is what greatly irritates me, that anyone can tell you all kinds of things and publish all kinds of things and bear absolutely no responsibility.... The decline of morality is terrible. Various clairvoyant "agencies" have sprung up like mushrooms after a rain and have plundered gullible and grieving people, and no one is responsible. We have had bitter experience with them. Their "charge" is 6,000 German marks [DM] or more. And just let them tell me which of the missing victims they have found. I will pay from my own pocket for every such case....

Regardless of the Government's Position, I Will Be There at the Court in The Hague

[Markovic] Yugoslavia has a state commission for war crimes with the rank of a state committee. The commission has its own staff, its own experts, its minister, and funds appropriated for its operation from the budget. What has that commission done for the prosecutors in The Hague to obtain sound material from us?

[Stankovic] Because I am now a member of that new commission, I can tell you how it has begun to operate. Our committee inherited Bulajic's state commission. Dr. Bulajic turned over to this committee, which is made up of nine members of differing specialties, two bundles of files. That is, two half-empty folders of documentation that he gathered....

[Markovic] Wait, he worked for a year, he had associates and a large office in the Federal Executive Council building....

[Stankovic] That is a question that no one asks, just as no one asked our predecessors: "What did you do for a year? Where is the documentation you gathered?" And not two half-empty folders. I called for a record to be made of the acceptance and a note to be made, for instance, about what happened to the material that I gave to that commission, or the material that the Army turned over—they are not there.

The state committee began to operate officially last October, and you see the material with which it started. Then for a long time the committee had no funds at all, and their telephones, for example, were disconnected, because there was no money to pay the bill, which perhaps amounted to five or six dinars. Only after nine months did the committee gets its first computers so that it could systematize the material that it has, and this past February the first funds were set aside for its work, which was done at the level of that building of the Public Prosecutor's Office in Vlajkoviceva Street (which still has the crest with the six torches at the entrance and the name written in Slovene, Croatian, and Macedonian—Z.M.). Only now that the events around the trial in The Hague have begun to be speeded up have somewhat larger funds begun to arrive, and the first teams have even gone out into the field. Some 39 teams have gone out into the field, and they have gathered abundant material on violations of international humanitarian law. This is now being processed. The committee opted not to engage in any kind of propaganda, but exclusively to gather data and to see that what it gathers will be valid in the future so that it can be defended before any court.

[Markovic] The tribunal has already begun to sit in The Hague, but our state commission has not yet turned over any material to the prosecutor. Do you think that our authorities are marking time?

[Stankovic] It is true that it is late. I will not go into why our government is avoiding recognition of the court in The Hague. But unless our official authorities appear before the court in The Hague, then I will do so personally and appear before the court as a prosecutor. I will ask for certain persons to be punished for what they have done, because the material exists to support that. Specifically, you have Tihomir Oreskovic and Tomislav Mercep, who are responsible for the death of 24 people in Gospic. We have irrefutable evidence of this, we have witnesses who were present when those people were taken away between 16 and 18 October 1991. We have the bodies, the victims. We have processed that from all angles, so that we can confidently charge those individuals and see whether Croatia will take them to be tried in The Hague or not. I have an obligation to the victims to bring their truth to the light of day. Vukovic, president of the Croatian Supreme Court, who is at the same time chairman of the commission for gathering evidence on atrocities, has said that no one on the Croatian side has committed genocide, that no one committed any crimes against the law of war and humanitarian law. But we have abundant facts that indicate the opposite. But this has to be presented in documented fashion. For example, the case of Captain Vranic. He left the Army. They apprehended him and took him to a prison in Gospic. He was murdered in prison. My Croatian counterparts wrote that he was the victim of explosive injuries. When his body was returned here, because he was from the vicinity of Belgrade, we examined his corpse and found a projectile fired from a hand-held firearm pressed deep into the facial area, which indicates that he was murdered in that prison. There are also witnesses, and all of this together is indicative of what was done in those prisons.

Now that we have mentioned Gospic, I will tell you that in Belgrade alone there are 180 people whose close family members were murdered there, and there are indications that the murders were done according to plan, according to some list....

Twenty Serbian Camps Have Not Yet Been Found

[Markovic] How would you comment on the reports about alleged Serbian atrocities which the Croatian and Muslim authorities have submitted to the authorities of the International Tribunal in The Hague?

[Stankovic] It is very difficult to defend what the Croatian authorities have submitted as alleged evidence of Serbian atrocities. We have a great deal of material with which we can easily refute that evidence to which they are referring. And that is because their "evidence" is more propaganda whose purpose was to argue that they are the victims of war. That is all more by the way of certain TV reports, various statements, but those documents contain no real material evidence that would be valid in rendering court judgments.

I asked Richard Goldstown, prosecutor of the International Court in The Hague, how he can draw up an indictment on the basis, say, of the Mazowiecki Report, which said that the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] has 20 collection camps for Muslims and Croats, but so far they have not found a single one? Or on the basis of the assertion in the Mazowiecki Report that the chief of the police station in Bratunac, Milosevic, was murdered by Serbs "because he was protecting Muslims." He was found along with 15 other corpses in Kravice; they were all Serbs, and they all died of penetrating wounds received in defending their village. There is material evidence of this and photographs taken by a woman journalist of Channel 4 of English television, and so on. Is the international community going to make an issue of Mazowiecki's responsibility for the inaccurate data he supplied? Or is it going to render sentence on the basis of his inaccurate reports? What kind of principle is that, then? Or, what kind of principle is it when someone in public panel discussions in Belgrade says that so-and-so is guilty of atrocities in places where he has never been? I have been practically everywhere during this war, in Vukovar, Tovarnik, Mirkovci, Beli Manastir, and in Lika, eastern Bosnia... and I have never met any of them. But, on the other hand, you can meet them anytime in Geneva, New York, London.... How can someone in Belgrade take a position to stop the killing in the field? Why does he not go to the field and take a stand there on the spot? For example, Croats worked with us processing the corpses in Vukovar. I brought them all out here, there were about 100 of them, and got them to Croatia. Those who had passports went through Hungary, I arranged for those lacking passports to get there via Bosanski Samac.

Not a single Muslim was killed where I have worked. An example from Rogatica. We were working on a certain Zoran Lalovic, born 1961. He had two penetrating wounds beneath the left cast which prevented him from walking. This man was taken prisoner, they cut off four fingers of his right hand and his head with an ax between the third and fourth vertebra. And while we were doing this, some Muslim prisoners were brought in. The brother of that unfortunate Lalovic also came. We showed him the corpse. It looked horrible. The brother began to cry, to shout out in pain. He had a weapon. The Muslims who had been brought in began to stir, they were afraid of revenge. I went up to the brother and told him that nothing must happen to those people. There was no need for me to say that, because the man showed no inclination to take revenge. And now some people in Belgrade tell me that "atrocities should be prevented." Why did they not go into the field to prevent them? A man is talking now, say, about the brutality of the Serbs against the Muslims in Herzegovina. And I am carrying the corpses of his schoolmates in elementary school, I will not mention his name, I assume you know to whom I am referring.... I am not saying that the Serbs have not murdered Muslims and Croats. Far from it. In this war, I have only been processing Serbs, that is my assignment, and I know what has happened to them. Let those speaking in favor of the Muslims in Belgrade say what Muslims they keep company with here. And I will tell them not only those I keep company with, but also those who come to my house regularly, and the Croats and Albanians who are my good friends and regular guests at home.... The victims of the war are talked about most by people who know the least and people who have seen the least. But they are also the first to publish books and the first to earn big money that way....

The Greatest Atrocities Were Committed in Western Herzegovina

[Markovic] What was your first case in the field during this war?

[Stankovic] I first handled cases that happened in that confusing situation which preceded the war. My first cases were soldiers. One of the first was Sergeant Sforcan, who suffered in an explosion in Zadar. There were also quite a few suicides at that time. But one I will never forget is the case of Roberto Barat, a soldier, in early August 1991 near Vinkovci. Somewhere within range of that city he accidentally fired a round and injured himself. They took him to a health center in Vinkovci, but the people there did not want to give him emergency aid. Then they set off for Sid, but the soldier hemorrhaged and died on the way. He was a Hungarian. He was born in Austria, where his father worked, but he came home to do his military service. He could hardly speak Serbian. Another Hungarian, Peter Hinady, was also a victim. A shell decapitated him. He came from a poor family in Backa, he left behind a mother and sister.... Those first casualties were characteristic, and another three soldiers, Svonja, Gaspar, and Bjelovski, who were incinerated in their tank on 31 August 1991 by a missile fired off by their tank commander....

[Markovic] Were the crimes committed with political premeditation as part of a deliberate strategy, or were they only the spontaneous misdeeds of psychopathic killers?

[Stankovic] I differ from those who say that such things as decapitation, cutting off hands, ears, and the like, are done by normal people. I say that they can be done only by psychopaths and sick people. Those in power may have taken advantage of them in order to achieve some horrible effect, but a normal man cannot do that. Some say that nationalities are genocidal. No, it is only individuals in that nationality who are genocidal, and the nationality must stand apart from them. It is well-known that new generations in those families that committed murders in the last war have taken victims from the same families in this war. Every nationality must free itself of such psychopaths.

[Markovic] What kind of crimes were committed most often in this war?

[Stankovic] As far as the Croats are concerned, the greatest crimes were committed in the area of Western Herzegovina, in the area of Gospic, around Orasje, and where the main crimes were committed in World War II. The same thing is happening in Bosnia-Herzegovina. (Because I handled only Serbs, I can speak, then, only about crimes committed against them. I cannot speak about the crimes committed by individual Serbs.) Which injuries are most frequent depends on the region. For instance, in eastern Bosnia the head is cut off most frequently, certain body parts are cut off, usually the ear and fingers. The same is true in the vicinity of Brcko. There are quite a few injuries to the eye sockets, gouging the eyes. They are inflicted most frequently with mechanical devices at hand, various rods, and mostly with a knife. It is significant that the injuries are identical to the injuries inflicted 100 or more years ago in these areas. By contrast with them, the injuries inflicted by Croats in the band from Western Herzegovina to Lika were most frequently done with some blunt object. They are also done with a knife, but less frequently. And it is also significant that they very often destroy the corpses there, so that there is no evidence about what was done. For instance, of the 152 corpses we processed in the vicinity of Mostar, 120 had been decapitated. Every corpse accuses someone. But primitive people think that if they remove the head, they will in this way conceal the trace of their crime. Because of the mass destruction of corpses in order to conceal traces of the crime, a great number of victims of this war will never be found.

[Markovic] Did you manage to identify even the decapitated corpses?

[Stankovic] Yes. The main prerequisite for success in this work is the time spent with the corpses, which are usually in the phase of decay, full of worms, and in a horrible state. At least an hour or two must be spent working beside each corpse. What is more, we mostly worked on the spot, in the areas where the murders occurred, and we had civilians there who were present when the work was done. We picked up on details. The important thing for us at sites of mass murders was to find at least one person, regardless of how, and then the investigation would continue from one to another. On Gondjansko Brdo, for example, we first found the corpse of a dog. And then, working from him, we found and identified the body of his master and some other local people. On that hill, little by little, some new corpse would be discovered when the ground settled, or when animals scratched and uncovered someone....

[Markovic] What left the most grievous impression on you in this war, what was the hardest for you to take?

[Stankovic] When I am conducting an examination of corpses, when I am recording the injuries, when I am identifying individuals, then I am strictly a professional. However, beyond that, when I come into contact with the family, and that contact must occur, although some say that this is a professional mistake, then this is usually the most difficult. For instance, we identified Sasa Maras, a 19-year-old soldier from Niksic. The first day we worked on him for an hour, his head and hands were cut off. When his parents came the next day, we spent much more time with them. And now the family describes him, and I pick up on what they say for some confirmation. For example, they say that he did not have his appendix, I take my knife and in front of the mother, who raised that child for 19 years, I open up the stomach, and I see it is not there. You can imagine how morbid this is. Then the mother says that she remembers she sewed a button on his pants' pocket and shows the thread she used to do it with; she says that the button was different from the others on the uniform. And now I take the clothing from the ground where it had been rotting for a year, and I actually find that button and see that this was the thread she showed me. And she fell silent. Then I tell them to try to think of some other detail if there is something we still have not investigated. An hour later they come back and say to me: "Doctor, thank you for having found my son." That is the toughest time for me.... Every dead person is a separate tragedy. Especially if violence has been done to him and especially if he had years of life ahead of him.... Or, when the corpses of soldiers from Vukovar began to arrive here at the VMA. One day, 37 corpses came. All young men. It was horrible. And then suddenly there were 35 families, what grief that was... 1,400 soldiers and officers have been killed in this war. A thousand of them answered the call to defend the homeland, and we send them back in a casket. It is horrible.... Vukovar was the turning point for me. When we went there, to the brickyard, I saw two men lying in a puddle. I said: "Look at those frauds, they got drunk and are lying there while other people are waging war." Then I went up to them, and they were dead. I have seen animals eating those people, it is terrible.... At one point, there were 700 corpses in one place. After that, six of our people stopped doing this job because of mental disturbances, some of them physicians, some of them technicians.

It Is Toughest on the Survivors

[Markovic] I asked Dr. Zoran Stankovic to tell me what was professionally the most difficult, what case had left the most grievous impression on him? I soon realized that this is an almost absurd question, because how can you expect someone whose scalpel has worked on 2,500 corpses to single out the "most difficult case"? Dr. Stankovic nevertheless did talk about it. He talked most about children, about old people, about grieving mothers, those who are the most frequent and most grievous victims of this war. I recorded two memories from that moving conversation.

When he entered Kravice with his team and peasants (this is a village near Zvornik), they immediately sent him to the hill where the village graveyard and small church were located. They had not been here for all of two years, because the Muslims had held the village. Everyone had some close relative in the cemetery. The church had been devastated inside, and the graves had been destroyed. Stankovic was called by a woman whose face was hidden deep in a black kerchief and who had come to the grave of her underage son; they killed him in 1992. The boy's grave had been plowed up. Some Muslim soldiers had pulled out the corpse and let hungry animals take it. The village dogs had torn apart the dead body. Only parts of the torso were left. Dr. Stankovic helped the mother to bury the remains of her child once again. There was no one else to help her, because everyone else was involved with his own bed....

In February 1993, the village of Skelani along the Drina. Dr. Stånkovic was working on corpses in a small house. Inside were the corpses of local people murdered that Christmas. A boy kept peering in. The doctor chased him away, he interfered with his work, and this was not exactly a scene for a child's eyes. Then the little boy said:

"Do not chase me away, Uncle Doctor, please, my mama and daddy are lying there, my sister is lying there, and I came to see whether perhaps my brother was with them...."

"When you see that, and you do not know what to do, whether to throw the child out or let him stay, because he wants 'only to see mama and daddy,' then it is tough, believe me.... This was that little Radovic, who lost his entire family...." Dr. Stankovic tells this and at one point I see the tears crowding together in his eyes.... "Nor can I forget the two Dimitrijevic boys," he continues. "The five-year-old, the younger one, was hit by a sniper bullet as he was crossing the bridge on 7 January 1993, and he was killed on the spot. His older brother, who was eight, received a penetrating wound in the neck; he was in the VMA until July of that year, and then his condition became complicated, and he died. The father and mother lost both children...."

No One Is Going To Show the Film About the Murderesses

I asked Dr. Stankovic if there had been women murderers in this war?

Slobodan Stojanovic was born 19 October 1980 in Donja Kamenica, Dr. Stankovic related. He was killed by Veseli Elfet, daughter of Rahman, born 1960 in Vlasenica. When the Muslims captured the village, the boy withdrew into the refuge with the parents and other villagers. And then he remembered that he left his dog tied up. He told his parents that he was going to let it loose. The parents, of course, told him not to. The boy ran off, crossed the barricade, and went into the village. The Muslims arrested him. He had to carry out various orders of theirs. He suffered a terrible death. That Albanian woman, Veseli Elfet, tortured him in front of everyone to make him confirm his loyalty to the Muslims. I found the boy naked, Stankovic recalls, a blue worker's coveralls were wrapped around his waist. They cut open his abdomen in the shape of a square to show the internal organs. I also recorded cuts with a blade on the head. This monstrous woman also fired into his temple from point-blank range, the bullet went through the left frontal bone and came out through the right frontal bone....

The director Bajic shot a documentary film about the 14-year-old boy who was beaten by the women in a camp in Bihac, but no one wants to show the film. That was little Dusan Vasic. I showed him to Dr. Marcusen from the University of Minnesota and some journalists. When he felt the skull, Professor Marcusen could not believe that the injuries could be so pronounced, because his head was ribbed like a radiator, and his overall appearance was as though he had just come out of Auschwitz....

[Markovic] Perhaps the greatest Rashomoniad at the upcoming trials in The Hague will have to do with the rapes. In the opinion of Dr. Stankovic, this is favored by the strange "rules of behavior" of the International Tribunal, because, according to those rules, it is not necessary to give the name of the rape victim, her initials need not even be given, medical documentation is not necessary, and so it is no wonder that there are various arbitrary things. Someone might say tomorrow that there were 300,000 rapes, and this does not have to be proven in the usual way. Of course, the figure of 50,000 raped women is not accurate. However, the cases of rape, and there were many, but not as many as is said, will also go down in the encyclopedias of horror. Our informant's cases might also fill some of the pages of that encyclopedia. He talks about them reluctantly, but when the topic arises, he cannot forget the nine-year-old little girl from Vrbovicki Lipnik, who was raped by a certain Mato Barukcic. The little girl was raped in the presence of her seven-year-old sister and her grandmother. Her mother was murdered before that. The Croats captured her father and sent him to dig trenches. He was wounded by a Serbian shell. Later, he was exchanged.... When the little girl who had been raped and her sister were in the doctor's office, she shook like a leaf. Whenever the doctor reached out his hand toward the little girl, she would draw back. For a long time yet, every male hand will be hateful to her and will make her shudder....

This War Has Quintupled the Number of Psychopaths

[Stankovic] This war has made psychopaths out of many healthy people. People become savage in wartime. First it is usually the primitive people who start the crimes. But once the fire is lit, then it easily blazes up. Some people see that they can achieve their objectives by being cruel and violent. And then they do it more and more. You even have those who are healthy, but in the course of the war they did what they did, because this was a way of moving up, and in that way they showed some kind of loyalty. The former Communists were especially good at that and still are. They all feel that what they were is some defect of theirs, and now they are much more intelligent in having given up that ideology, and they want to show that they are loyal to the new ideology. This war has increased the number of psychopaths if not fivefold, then threefold for certain....

[Markovic] I was interested in what contact Dr. Stankovic will remember longest from his contact with relatives of victims.

[Stankovic] I am in the phase in which I am still working a lot. It is hard for me to sort all that out. What has left the greatest impression on me? Probably it will be something that happens in the time ahead. Believe me, every new experience is drastic, every new meeting with the dead is disturbing all over again, an unpredictable new event, so that you sometimes think: Now this is the worst that has happened. And then they bring you some young corpse which has suffered horribly and you experience a new horror. There really is a great deal of that. Just think how long it takes you just to count to 2,500, not to mention recalling 2,500 or 3,000 stories, each of which is a tragedy in itself....

Sometimes you see: A man is here, two minutes later he is gone. What are you going to do, that is our profession: blood, tears, death.... I sometimes think that I am not like other men. I was once an ardent fan of Partizan. In the last few years, my work has not allowed me to go to the games regularly. But I have been two or three times. And instead of looking at the game, I am looking at the people around me: They are shouting, they are scolding, they rejoice, they jump up... they are completely carefree. And I like to see those young people having fun. Then it is easier for me....

'Readiness' of Belgrade Air Defense Unit

95BA0098C Belgrade VOJSKA in Serbo-Croatian 29 Sep 94 p 18

[Article by Cedomir Popovic: "Knowledge Is Power"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *They compensate for the potential enemy's technical advantages through training; organized test of officers' knowledge once a year; they carry out general combat training at night; Akord apparatus for simulating actions by enemy aircraft.*

A high level of combat readiness is one of the most important characteristics of the missile unit commanded by Colonel Dragoljub Vukosavljevic. Founded back in 1962, as the first of that type in our country, it is now the main strength of the Belgrade air defense.

Its activity and combat readiness are influenced by the fact that a war is being waged in our immediate vicinity, and the country's territory has been reduced, so that not even the borders are far off, and the most modern aircraft of the present day are capable of reaching the missile units' zone of responsibility in a very short time. Consequently, they attempt to compensate for certain technical advantages on the other side through better training. At that unit, training, in which young officers, soldiers, and reservists participate, is unending, in a manner of speaking. Right now, some of the officers are being retrained on new systems.

According to the chief of staff, Lieutenant Colonel Miroslav Lazovic, knowledge and expertise are the values that have priority over everything else in the unit. That is why once a year, a test of knowledge about missile equipment is organized for the officers, and that assessment influences all the others. They have also succeeded in measuring the level of training by objective criteria as much as possible, and the Akord system also assists in this.

Training and Expertise

They did not stop there, and the unit also has several other distinguishing features. Thanks to the desire and initiative of a large number of young officers who have come to the unit, certain innovations have been made in the process of making decisions on the use of the unit. Those innovations have already been applied in a demonstration exercise for officers of the ARJ PVO [air defense artillery-missile units], and the GS VJ [VJ General Staff] inspectorate has also become acquainted with them. In the search for new solutions, they proceeded on the basis of their own capabilities, as well as an assessment of the strength of the possible enemy, especially taking into account the new, modern weapons that could be used against our country. On that basis, alternatives are prepared for the most appropriate use in support of the air defense of the capital.

Particular attention is also devoted to training and the professional education of personnel at the missile division commanded by Captain First Class Stevo Djevic. Although they will also complete specialist training later on, the people at that unit are trying to have every soldier learn first to shoot from all types of infantry weapons, to throw a grenade, and to set mines and explosives. A large part of the training, especially this general combat training, is carried out at night. The people at the division say that their superior command is providing a great deal of assistance in covering individual topics, by involving experts in certain specialties among its personnel. Prominent among them is Major Drago Oric, an exceptional expert on engineering training, who enjoys working with soldiers.

In the specialist training, in accordance with the above-mentioned efforts, particular emphasis is placed on selecting and training operators for manual tracking and for tracking targets even in the most complicated conditions. They are trained to track targets in conditions in which electronic jamming is being utilized, and detecting antiradar self-guided missiles and pilotless aircraft. The Akord apparatus helps to simulate those circumstances.

The training has been shortened, so that it now lasts three months instead of six as before, but the results are not worse—on the contrary, they are even better.

A Responsible and Difficult Job

What is life in the division like? A missileman's job per se is not only a responsible one, but also a fairly difficult one. Combat duty assignments, tactical exercises, and bivouacs are very frequent. In recent years, the war and the difficulties it has brought have added to all that. Most of the officers arrived from the secessionist republics, and usually with nothing at all, and their new area was not capable of housing them adequately immediately. That is also what is bothering the unit the most now. Half of the officers do not have apartments. About 30 families are living in the barracks. The division has everything necessary to conduct training, including a high-quality instruction service. There are also no major difficulties in maintaining the combat equipment. The facilities in which the unit is located are of fairly recent date, and are relatively good, especially if one knows the kind of conditions in which many other units are living throughout the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

That unit enjoys a high reputation among the populace. If one can judge by what we heard, the people's confidence in and support for the army are still fairly well preserved. By the nature of its work, that combat unit is in any case deployed at a large number of locations that are rather distant from each other, and thus in direct contact with the populace. Not only have there not been any difficulties, but the people themselves have expressed a desire to become closer to VJ members, organize visits, and assist to the extent of their abilities, and the unit has tried to repay all this appropriately. Close ties have been established everywhere, not only with ordinary people but also with municipal authorities and business. There is good cooperation with the enterprises Prva Iskra in Baric, Petar Drapsin in Mladenovac, the Nikola Tesla thermoelectric power plant in Obrenovac, Sartid in Smederevo, and others.

The VJ members' desire to have excellent training in spite of the above-mentioned difficulties, while also displaying a strong creative spirit and determination to defend the country with all available means—and they are not small—has been in the past, and will be in the future a powerful factor in repelling all possible aggressors.

Report on Army, Machine-Industry Cooperation

95BA0097B Belgrade VOJSKA in Serbo-Croatian 27 Oct 94 p 17

[Article by Zoran Miladinovic: "The Repair Concept Has Been Altered"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In the Club of the VJ [Army of Yugoslavia] in Nis, they recently celebrated the 110th anniversary of that city's Machine Industry [MIN]. On that occasion, the general director of that holding company, Milan Krivokapic M.A., awarded a plaque to the Army of Yugoslavia for business cooperation. This is actually a recognition confirming the recently established close ties between the VJ Technical Administration and this giant of the machine industry, which has employed its facilities to repair armored combat equipment. Lieutenant Colonel General Dusan Samardzic, commander of the 3d Army, expressed gratitude for the recognition and said that MIN has important capacities for the repair of equipment and armament and that in the coming period it could occupy an important place in new projects that have not involved it up to now. This enterprise, which consists of 36 joint-stock companies and has a work force of 11,000, today has specialized potential that can be used very effectively for repairs, overhaul, and production of armament and military equipment. This is a guarantee for successful continuation of business cooperation with the VJ.

According to Dr. Dragisa Stefanovic, deputy general director and assistant for special-purpose production at MIN, cooperation was established thanks to the new concept of the VJ to rely also on firms whose production is not exclusively related to military purposes. This is a constructive orientation, as indicated by the datum that our economy has managed to make substitutes for everything made in the other republics without any additional investments whatsoever.

Vagonka Is Overhauling Tanks

The process of general overhaul of T-55 tanks was mastered at MIN in a year, without additional investments of the VJ. Through their own efforts, MIN and its cooperators adapted work space and fitted it out to meet the needs of major overhauls. By making maximum use of present equipment and adapting it to the overhaul technology and by adjusting the most necessary equipment and tools, the overhaul process was made to move smoothly, so that some 10 T-55 tanks were updated in a year. On that basis, a decision was obtained from the council of the Technical Department to fit out Vagonka d.d. [joint-stock company], which is part of MIN, for major overhauls, and a contract was concluded with the Technical Administration.

The special-purpose production program was put on a sound economic and market footing, and this is now an essential segment in MIN's production.

In addition to the firm Vagonka, which is the principal assembler, the overhaul process also involves Fitip, which makes gears and transmissions, and two factories of EI [Electronics Industry] Nis, the 7 Oktobar NTVT [expansion unknown], and EI Sova, which produces optical instruments for the tank. Eng. Djordje Stojanovic, coordinator for the special-purpose program, says that the annual overhaul capacity is large, and no complaints have come in from units about the jobs done so far. They have organized field teams equipped for medium-level repairs at the user's request.

In the railroad car factory the production line used for overhauling the T-55 tank has the logistical support of the entire enterprise. Vujadin Banic, superintendent of the Overhaul Department, and Borinko Radovanovic, chief inspector, have organized the job so that it begins with acceptance by a commission and establishment of what needs to be done. Then a work order is drawn up, and teams of skilled workmen disassemble it, find defects, and replace, rebuild, or install new parts. Following stationary testing of the engine and equipment and field tests, including a test drive and firing, the tank is ready to be returned to the unit. People trained at the Cacak TRZ [equipment repair plant] are the backbone of the team. In addition, MIN and its cooperators are also mastering the production of spare parts so as to facilitate the process of general overhaul.

New Projects

For a long time now, they have been making parts at MIN for artillery pieces, such as gun carriages, cradles, and steadying legs. At certain points, the work force has been producing several types of aerial bombs and the special-purpose ATD-202 truck crane under license from Koles, which were made only to meet the needs of the VJ. Now, a business decision has been made at the level of the MIN Holding Company to move more aggressively into new military programs, and 15 projects are being developed. This is putting to work capacity unused up until now. The greatest promise is seen in the program just completed for mastering the production of a new infantry combat vehicle, whose technical-and-economic analysis has been accepted by the specialized commission of the Military Engineering Institute. The Military Engineering Institute has done the reconstruction and updating of the infantry combat vehicle so that its performances (more powerful engine, cupola, armor, and armament) place it among the most modern vehicles of this kind and category in the world.

The machine industry has the specific equipment necessary for this type of production so that it can manufacture and machine the hull. In addition to this project, the production of underwater mines and steadying legs for the infantry combat vehicle and M-84 tank is also being mastered. These products are being made from special aluminum alloys whose welding has been mastered by experts of MIN in the welding laboratory.

Tasks of Helicopter Units Examined

95BA0097A Belgrade VOJSKA in Serbo-Croatian 27 Oct 94 p 21

[Article by Ceda Milenovic: "Flights for Life"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Supersonic planes have no competitor in the popularity rankings in the Air Force. Slow aircraft like transport planes and helicopters are near the bottom of the ladder. Nevertheless, helicopters are great favorites with the people, especially in areas where other types of transportation cannot reach people in trouble.

In the race against time for minutes that often mean life, helicopter crews in Miloje Krstovic's unit have always been victorious. There have been cases when the weather got worse during the flight and jeopardized performance of the mission that had been started, but the pilots rarely succumb to the bad weather and do not like to give up.

People are equally glad to see them in the trackless areas of the Babusnica region, in the crags of Bosiljgrad Opstina, in the Kursumlija region, in the villages under Kopaonik, on the slopes of Medvedja.... In all of these areas they have been helping people in various situations and troubles. Every new tower of the long-distance power transmission line, every new water supply pipe, every prefabricated house has made life more tolerable in areas without roads.

The helicopter crews are on duty every day to fly at the call of the superior command and to perform the mission. They are usually committed to the needs of Air Force units in performing their flight training—if a pilot should jump out of an aircraft in an accident, then they search the terrain and carry the injured pilot to the nearest hospital. Fortunately, there has been little occasion for such flights. Nevertheless....

"We had one such mission," relates pilot Branko Ivancevic. "This was approximately in mid-June of this year. Captain Zoran Vukojevic and I were in the crew on duty. At about 1730 hours, we were given the task of flying to the area of Kragujevac. Two pilots had been forced to eject from an Orao and were injured in landing by parachute. Pilots of the helicopter unit of Miodrag

Dukanjac had found them and taken them to the Ladjevci airfield, and we took them from there to the Military Medical Academy. One of them was quite seriously injured; he had a break in the lower leg and a spinal injury, while the other had less severe injuries."

On the second unfortunate occasion, Capt. Ivancevic was involved once again, but this time the crew was made up of Captain Aleksandar Radivojevic and flight technician Bojan Isakov.

"We had a flight planned for Sunday, 18 September, of this year," pilot Radivojevic recalls. "We were to transport a group of pilots from the Pristina airfield to the Batajnica Military Medical Institute for a regular medical examination. Along the way, we received a new mission—to urgently transport a seriously injured soldier to the Military Medical Academy. The mission was accomplished successfully, and the soldier's life was saved."

It is hard to even count all the examples when the helicopter pilots have come to the aid of people in trouble. The helicopter units have provided aid to the population after all the earthquakes that have befallen this and that former Yugoslavia. They have built cableways on Sara, Jahorica, Igman, Belasica, and Kopaonik, a number of water supply networks on the Montenegrin coast and in central Dalmatia; they have installed almost all the relay devices and repeaters, and they have helped to electrify almost all of southern Serbia. They have also helped in building the large hydropower systems—Djerdap, Mratinje, and Mavrovo. Everywhere where others could not or did not dare to go. They also have helped in putting out fires—at the Mitros Factory in Sremska Mitrovica, at Vulkan in Nis, on the coast....

For that reason, the helicopter pilots are welcome guests everywhere. People from some 40 villages in the area under Kopaonik will never forget that it is thanks to the helicopter pilots that they recently got electricity.

Increased Number of Officers Leaving Army

95BA0096A Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Dec 94 p 11

[Article by Radovan Pavlovic: "Deteriorating Financial Situation in the Army of Yugoslavia"]

[FBIS Translated Text] An Air Force officer, a major in the Public Relations Department, more accurately the former spokesman of the Air Force, has taken off his uniform and joined the private operators. He manages a firm with a nostalgic name (after the rank he held while he was in the ranks of the military) and says—Things are going well for me; I am earning far more.

Dozens of military judges have become private attorneys, public information officers are joining prestigious civilian firms, military physicians are practicing in civilian hospitals.... Last year and this year about 300 officers, noncommissioned officers, and specialists in a variety of fields have left the Yugoslav Army. Official military figures indicate that the exodus of officers and scientists from the Army is 10-fold greater than in the former JNA [Yugoslav People's Army].

No Longer Attractive

Sergeants, second lieutenants, and captains are leaving most frequently. According to the figures presented a few days ago by Lieutenant Colonel General Ljubisa Velickovic, the top man in the Yugoslav RV i PVO [Air Force and Air Defense Forces], about 10 percent of the officers have left the Air Force this year.

The low salaries and unresolved housing problems of an immense majority of officers and military experts are the main motives for leaving the Army. At one time, people almost rushed into the Army because of the security of the officer corps—good salaries, job security, and a short wait for housing. Now, the situation is the other way around; the military calling is no longer attractive, as indicated by the fact that in recent years enrollment of cadets has barely been sufficient in the military academies.

"There is no point talking about salaries, because this would only be a complaint. The problem is not that the salaries are low or high (a lieutenant colonel in the Air Force, for example, a pilot with all the flight supplements, receives about 600 dinars), but the fact that highly skilled personnel are leaving because they are far better paid in civilian life for the same job," General Velickovic said.

Major General Dusan Zoric, chief of the Personnel Department of the General Staff of the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] Army, says that about 13,000 officers and civilian employees came to the VJ [Army of Yugoslavia] because of the disintegration of the former SFRY [Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] into the FRY, and they brought about 40,000 family members.

"This rapidly increased the number of unresolved housing cases, which included many families placed in a difficult situation because of the death, wounding, or capture of officers. Many of those families were left almost without any property. The picture of the army is made still worse by the datum that about 4,000 retired military personnel also fled to the FRY. They had solved their housing problems in the republics where they had served. However, those apartments have now been occupied by force."

All of this, Gen. Zoric remarks, imposes major problems of social welfare, dissatisfaction of the officers, and a marked reduction in the motivation for a military career. Until recently none of our officers or civilian employees retired without getting housing.

Frequent Transfers

The fact must not be forgotten, Gen. Zoric emphasizes, that because of the needs of the service military personnel often move from one garrison to another; by and large they work longer than regular working hours and under difficult conditions in the field: they handle harmful and hazardous materials; and they continually have to be on duty. The status of the professional soldier is made still more difficult by frequent transfers, which means that their spouses lose their jobs. It is precisely for these reasons, Zoric says, that professional soldiers and retired military personnel have no additional sources of income, and we can say that they live exclusively on their salary or pension.

"The criteria for enrollment of young people in military service are extremely strict, but in return nothing is offered them except an honorable vocation, a job full of sacrifices and responsibility, modest earnings, and an uncertain future. That is why interest in a military career is declining," Gen. Zoric concludes, "and a large number of young people with military experience and also top specialists in the years when they have their full physical strength and maturity are leaving the Army and quite often even the country."

An analysis of the "exodus" of the officer corps cannot be valid without a more careful look at the state budget, more accurately, that part of the pie intended for the military. Next year, the Army is to be appropriated 1.6 billion dinars. To what extent will those funds eliminate any of these problems plaguing the Yugoslav Army? For sake of comparison, our neighbors the Croats, with an army half the size, are planning to allocate $2.5 billion for military purposes.

Diverse Interests

"We can hardly expect stable financing of the Army in the near future, because it has turned out that behind that complicated calculation, and also through it, aside from the country's scant economic potential, diverse interests combat one another, exert a lateral thrust, or come to the surface. And the achievement of certain ambitions is predicated on a badly situated army, which has no hope of getting better in the future," says Colonel Ljubodrag Stojadinovic, who heads the Public Information Administration of the General Staff.

This is perhaps one of the reasons why the Army's "faucets are being turned off." It is also said by some that the Army is thereby carrying on its back (deservedly or not) the burden of responsibility for many stumbles and failures during the civil war, the dismemberment of the former state, but also many scandals and tragedies in its garrisons.

Training at Weapons Center in Krusevac

95BA0098A Belgrade VOJSKA in Serbo-Croatian 29 Sep 94 p 15

[Article by D. Glisic: "Defense Against Destructive Weapons"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Pupils and students at secondary military schools and academies, students from the noncommissioned officers' school, officers from the ABHO [nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons] branch, and contract soldiers and those performing their military service are being trained in Krusevac. The diverse composition of the class requires particular preparation on the part of the instructors, and their own improvement.*

In contrast to some other training centers that found themselves in a "mess" after the destruction of Yugoslavia, faced with the enemy and forced to relocate, the ABHO Training Center has been in Krusevac for a long time, in the center of Serbia and its chemical technology. Developed on the banks of the Western Morava and Rasina, Prince Lazar's capital has always offered hospitality to chemists and soldiers. It is therefore not surprising that as long ago as 1953 the officers' chemical school, which became the ABHO training center in 1964, was located in that city. Its present commander, Colonel Mirko Stefanovic, emphasizes that there is no better place for the training and specialization of ABHO officers and soldiers than the city in which chemical defense unit personnel were trained back in 1930.

In Krusevac, almost everyone is involved in chemistry or lives on it. Zupa, Merima, Miloje Zakic, Milan Blagojevic, and other enterprises that more or less fight with chemistry and its compounds are there. With all those organizations, as well as the leadership of the Krusevac municipality, the Training Center has extremely good cooperation, to their mutual satisfaction.

The internship nature of the Center gives rise to military discipline. The students at the ABHO Training Center know that their main task is to learn as much as possible about the possibilities and methods of defending against nuclear, chemical, or biological weapons. They never know when the knowledge they have acquired will allow them to save their own and others' lives.

"In spite of the numerous conventions and bans ruling out or limiting the use of chemical or nuclear weapons, we are faced with the use of combat toxins and more and more frequent nuclear tests by certain countries," Colonel Stefanovic emphasized. "We know that some of our neighbors are also capable of producing nuclear projectiles, while the means to use them are also being improved more and more. Reducing the strength of nuclear weapons increases the possibility that they will be used in local or limited conflicts, which is a unique challenge to us. After all, the basic mission of ABHO personnel is to defend against attacks with nuclear, chemical, or biological weapons, and to ensure the conditions for carrying out combat operations and for staying alive in a contaminated environment."

Pupils and students from secondary military schools and academies and students from the one-year noncommissioned officers' school are being trained at the ABHO Training Center. ABHO officers, but also officers from other branches and services for chemical, nuclear, and biological safety, are also taking courses. In addition to them, the Center is also training contract soldiers and soldiers performing their military service who, after completing their training, leave for units where they renew and improve upon what they have studied.

"Generations of officers and cadets have passed through our Center, many of whom are now in responsible positions at unit, service, and directorate command headquarters," Commandant Stefanovic emphasized with pride. "Here they acquired their basic knowledge about nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons, but also improved ways to defend against NHB [nuclear, chemical, and biological] attacks, became familiar with new protective equipment, and reinforced their faith in the possibility of opposing an aggressor using nuclear weapons."

The Center's long-standing tradition of training ABHO specialists, from ABHO laboratory technicians to chiefs of units and directorates, also raises the level of the requirements. The Center's instructors are expected to train generations of ABHO personnel capable of resisting an enemy under all conditions, to identify the use of NHB weapons in time, to inform the appropriate headquarters about it and take steps to eliminate the danger, and to ensure combat, life, and work in those conditions. All of that, of course, is not simple at all, but thanks to the fact that the instructors include a certain number of people with master of science degrees, highly specialized engineers, and experts with different backgrounds, the tasks assigned are fulfilled even in these unenviable economic conditions. A splendidly equipped modern laboratory with a high degree of safety and protection for personnel, modern offices, and a solidly developed material base, along with an abundance of textbooks and study notes published by the Center itself, promise success for the Center's future classes.

Those who stand out the most, according to Colonel Stefanovic, are of course the graduated secondary school students, pupils at the noncommissioned officers' school, who after one year of training leave for units for their first professional assignments. The first graduating class of those young men is already with the troops, and as the Center's commandant told us, the second one, which will begin training soon, will not be any worse.

"We were fortunate that the response to our competition was above expectations, and so we could choose our future-pupils. Naturally, it was not difficult to do that, since the greatest interest was shown by those who until then were pupils at related schools—chemical, food, technology, and so forth. In view of their previous knowledge we could expect a good success, and that expectation was fulfilled. We hope that this second graduating class will be as good as, if not even better than, the previous one," Colonel Stefanovic concluded.

The officers and instructors at the ABHO Training Center bear in mind that their most important task is to training members of the VJ [Army of Yugoslavia], but in view of the nature of the branch, it is also appropriate to mention another dimension of their profession as well. In previous years members of Civil Defense, whose task was to ensure the protection of the civilian population under conditions of the use of NHB weapons, were also trained at the Center. Work with the population has therefore remained one of the significant characteristics of the ABHO Training Center. The more people who know how to protect themselves, the greater the success of the defense will be.

Tasks of Reconnaissance Unit Detailed

95BA0098B Belgrade VOJSKA in Serbo-Croatian 29 Sep 94 p 16

[Article by D. Glisic: "Speed Reduces Casualties"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Well-trained soldiers very quickly recognize the type of combat toxin, the weapon from which the projectile was fired, and the strength of the projectile.*

At an ABHO [nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons] reconnaissance post somewhere in the vicinity of Cacak, a well-protected and concealed soldier surveyed his surroundings through binoculars, while his comrade in camouflage clothing, with a protective mask on his head, measured the strength of the wind. A third member of the crew at the reconnaissance post noted the data, and from time to time, with a set of instruments for measuring NH [nuclear and chemical] strikes, verified the level of danger. That is the normal working day for the three-member crew of a reconnaissance station, whose task is to detect in time the danger from a completed nuclear attack, the use of combat toxins, or the use of biological weapons. The success of the defense and the further activity of units deployed for combat in the field depend upon the data, which have to be delivered as quickly as possible to the reconnaissance station and then relayed by it to the headquarters, i.e., the ABHO chief. Lieutenant Colonel Djuradj Ivic, deputy commander of the unit headed by Colonel Slobodan Petkovic, emphasized that speed was the most important criterion for the work of a crew at a reconnaissance station.

"The number of soldiers' and civilians' lives saved in the contaminated area depends upon their speed and readiness for action. Their task is to detect the danger as soon as possible, assess and verify which combat toxin is involved, or how great the danger from a nuclear strike is, and inform their superiors about it. They are equipped with a vehicle and all the instruments and equipment for detection and dosimetry. The scouts who are part of the reconnaissance station's crew have to leave for the contaminated land as soon as possible, collect samples, and deliver them to the station. Their job does not end there. At the reconnaissance station, the data are compared and analyzed, and then send to the superiors, who, on the basis of that data, make decisions on troop movements and their protection."

Major Zoran Jovanovic emphasized that one of the scouts' tasks is also to block passages and monitor movements on the contaminated land, while the crew of the reconnaissance station performs analyses and gathers the necessary data on the time of the strike, the location, the means of application, the level of contamination, and the type of combat toxin. In accordance with its purpose, the reconnaissance station is equipped with a motor vehicle, communications equipment, a meteorological unit, and equipment for detection and observation, while the crew is trained extremely well to recognize the type of explosion, as well as the combat weapon from which the projectile was fired.

Although the tasks of the crew at the reconnaissance station are mostly wartime ones, their role in peacetime is also interesting. They contribute to more accurate weather prediction by sending data every day on the meteorological situation in the city and its vicinity. They also note data on the level of radiation. The commander of the ABHO scouts, Goran Markovic, told us that the equipment for measuring radiation was so sensitive that they also measured cosmic rays every day, even though they do not affect health.

The people of Cacak know that there is an ABHO unit in their city, and that inspires a certain amount of security, in spite of the numerous chemical facilities in the city and its vicinity. In the event of an accident at any of the factories, not much time will pass before a team of experts from the VJ [Army of Yugoslavia], i.e., the Cacak ABHO unit, will be in action together with the city services. That is more than enough for the people of Cacak.

'Internal Conflict' at BORBA Discussed

95BA0095A Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian 2 Jan 95 pp 10-13

[Article by Uros Komlenovic: "The Trampling of BORBA"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The news that the Government of the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] had appointed Dragutin Brcin, federal secretary for information, as acting director and editor in chief of the newspaper BORBA caused a panic at the beginning of last week and among foreign (and also domestic) reporters. Dragoslav, Dragisa, Dobroslav, Dragutin, Milutin, Radovan—the unhappy newsmen made wild guesses in their attempt to hit upon the name of the newly appointed "commissar" of BORBA. Dragutin Brcin, however, is not such an unfamiliar figure—he is one of the longest-standing officials of the former Socialist Youth League [SSO] and the man on whose watch the property of the SSO republic conference was sold off (the beneficiaries later formed New Democracy—Movement for Serbia), even to the extent that, as noted at the time by the meticulous reporter of POLITIKA EKSPRES, six framed pictures of well-known secretaries of SKOJ [Communist Youth League of Yugoslavia] were carried off. What happened to the seventh is not known, but there is evident irony in the fact that Brcin, before he became a member of the SPS [Socialist Party of Serbia], deputy to Milivoje Pavlovic, republic information minister, and a federal "minister of the truth," palled around at one time with many of the present editors and journalists of BORBA.

Brcin and the Team

Dragutin Brcin has taken his new assignment seriously, and because he has been unable to force the editorial staff to accept him, beginning last Monday he simply began to print his own version of BORBA, evoking this comment a few days later from academician Nikola Milosevic in the Assembly of the Independent [Nezavisno] Association of Serbian Journalists [NUNS]: "We have always known what counterfeit money was, and we have also known that newspapers tell lies, but we have not been familiar with counterfeit newspapers. Now, thanks to this regime, we also know that."

To compound the shame, in an editorial in the first issue of BRCINKA (more accurately, the SPS version of the daily BORBA we have mentioned), Dragutin Brcin addressed BORBA journalists disposed to hold their nose and accept his rules of the game: "the door is wide open to me." This (accidental?) typographical error (in which "im" [to them] was transposed to "mi" [to me]) offered academician Milosevic and an entire band of careful readers in the editorial office of that daily a fine occasion for malicious comments. The remainder of BRCINKA is so bad, illiterate, and unprofessionally done that it did not deserve even that kind of comment. The first issue of Counterfeit BORBA did not manage to even put together a crossword puzzle, which was "stolen" from a "stale" issue of BORBA.

Two different newspapers under the same BORBA name, then, went on sale on Monday, 26 December, but in this case it all began three days earlier, when the state-controlled media published the report that the Federal Government had for all practical purposes taken over BORBA by naming Dragutin Brcin acting director and editor in chief. All this was done with reference to the Superior Economic Court in Belgrade, which on 19 December of this year sustained the November decision of the court in the first instance to delete Joint-Stock Company Borba, to whom the newspaper belongs, from the court register, that is, to refuse to register that joint-stock company, although it was registered three years ago! That same evening, Dragutin Brcin turned up in the editorial office accompanied by three associates, among whom those recognized were Teodor Andjelic, former editor in chief of NIN in the time of the "creative manuscript," and Ivan Markovic, former assistant secretary of the Executive Council of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and assistant republic minister of education in the time of Danilo Z. Markovic, chief of staff of Radoman Bozovic, president of the Citizens' Chamber of the FRY Assembly, a fighter against Assembly reporters, and an assistant director of

TANJUG. Brcin introduced him as his deputy for personnel and legal affairs. No one succeeded in identifying a certain Mr. Zivadinovic, Brcin's third associate.

A meeting was held of the extended BORBA collegium, but Brcin left when he saw that the journalists were insisting on attending the meeting, which has been the practice in the editorial office when such major events are being discussed—that is, he wanted to communicate the decision about the change at the top of BORBA only to Gordana Logar, editor in chief, and the editorial collegium. Brcin departed, but he left his calling card: In his status as federal secretary, he prohibited the night shift of the Borba Printing Plant (the printing plant is not part of the newspaper, but an independent enterprise) from printing the "city edition." The order was carried out by the shift boss, because the director of the printing plant was traveling "with the Blues to Brazil," and so the "provincial edition" appeared on Saturday morning in Belgrade. Because the judicial proceedings concerning Borba have not been completed, the editorial staff decided to treat Brcin and his team as a "group of individuals" who would like to take over BORBA. The editorial staff, joined by colleagues from the other media and representatives of political parties and associations for protection of human rights, organized a duty watch until morning. A decision was made by acclamation to continue to publish the paper at all costs, not to change the editorial policy, collegium, or editor in chief, and for the editorial staff to refuse any collaboration in publishing the paper with the new "commissar administration."

The atmosphere in BORBA over the weekend was rather feverish: News releases followed one upon the other, and journalists of BORBA and other Belgrade papers, politicians, distinguished figures, and friends of the paper took turns on duty. Telegrams of support began to come in and by now would fill a sizable cabinet—BORBA has been supported by the known and unknown, from the State Department to the employees' trade union of the Electric Power Industry of Serbia.

The Atmosphere in the Street

Brcin came again on Saturday and again left without getting the job done: Of the 120 journalists, it was learned later, only five favored him, in spite of threats from his "lieutenants" that he would "arrest them all" when he took office. Even those who are not on salary remained even though they have not been paid what is owed them for two months.

Reports have been coming in in the meantime that Brcin's, that is, Milosevic's, BORBA is being prepared in the building of the former Federal Executive Council in New Belgrade. Work is being done normally on the authentic Monday edition. However, it is difficult to put out a paper without a printing plant, certain technical services, and a sales network (which again is a separate enterprise). In keeping with its long years of progovernment orientation, POLITIKA and its sales network also denied help to their colleagues, but, on the other hand, the recently established newspaper METRO did help. A printing plant was even found—ABC—10,000 copies were printed, and "amateur newsboys," more accurately, the journalists and the newspaper's prestigious friends, took over sales. On Monday, some of them achieved business exploits: Zaharije Trnavcevic sold 200, and Milorad Bajic, the film director, sold no less than 500 copies with a little help from a megaphone. The printing "sold out quickly," there were no returns, and that same situation has persisted during the week, although later they printed 12,000.

The atmosphere in the street is a story in itself. The theory about being able to recognize character from appearance really sounds unfounded and a bit fascistoid, but on Wednesday, for example, between 0900 and 1000 hours, it was established on the corner of Nusiceva and Makedonska that every pedestrian who looked sophisticated and spoke with a Belgrade accent bought a copy of the "real BORBA," affectionately called "streetwalker," which then was changed to "tramp." Those others passed, took a look, spelled out the titles with difficulty, and left. Occasionally making a comment such as: "Where did you get the newsprint, from Soros?"

On Monday, news came in which after the initial disbelief encouraged the chronically fatigued editorial staff, which has not had its sleep: Judge Goran Kljajevic of the Economic Court in Belgrade, a man who a bit earlier had refused to register Borba d.d. [joint-stock company], had issued a decision rejecting the request that Dragutin Brcin be registered as the acting director of NIP [Newspaper Publishing Enterprise] Borba. "Under that decision of the Economic Court, a phantom has sprung up called NIP Borba, which at present has not a single employee, and has now been left without its manager," writes "the real BORBA." Both BORBA trade unions threaten strike in concert if the state continues to stand in the way of their operation, and the Legal Department of "the real BORBA" is taking the printing plant to court because of its unauthorized printing of BRCINKA. The "renegades" who went over to Brcin's side are loitering about the editorial office, explaining to anyone ready to listen that they had to go over because "force does not pray to God," and "they have to put food on the table." The most frequent response was: "It was your choice."

Internal Conflict

The choice actually was the biggest problem among BORBA journalists. With the exception of those we have mentioned, they all decided to oppose the "commissar management," but for many it was at the same time difficult to reconcile themselves to the fact that they ended up on the same side with Dusan Mijic, the very unpopular acting director and owner of the "majority block" of stock in Borba d.d. and his deputy Branislav Milosevic. (The story about the complications concerning the ownership transformation of Borba, the role of Dusan Mijic, and the legal ins and outs is a lengthy one and mainly well-known, and VREME has written about it several times.)

In any case, the emergency situation in BORBA continues. At night the journalists stay on duty in the editorial office, in the morning they sell their newspaper on the street, and during the day they write the articles. On Tuesday, two news releases were received from the management of BRCINKA. In the first Dragutin Brcin announced that all the newsmen would get their assignments from him and his deputy, but his deputy was not named! In the second Ivan Markovic announced that d.d. Borba was ceasing to operate, that everything had been brought to a valid termination, but NIP Borba retained the status of a public firm and would continue to operate as such. "All previous employees of Borba d.d. and the newspaper BORBA who wanted to continue to work in the public firm NIP Borba were invited to apply to the Personnel Department of the enterprise before 5 January 1995 to clarify their employment status, thereby ensuring continuity in exercising rights arising out of the employment relation," Markovic threatened, and the editorial staff responded by ignoring the document which, they said, was signed by the "nonexistent deputy of the nonexistent director." At the same time, BORBA's lawyers are suing Brcin for malfeasance and false representation, and Radomir Lazarevic, president of the Economic Court, made a statement that rejection of the application to enter Brcin's BORBA in the register did not jeopardize his appointment as acting editor in chief. Flagrantly prejudicing the decision, Lazarevic recalled that the decision is not yet final and that the NIP has the right to appeal to an appellate court. Following the statements of Lazarevic and Perisa Jovanovic, federal secretary for legislation, it is clear what the outcome of the appeal might be.

The editorial staff has continued to publish the newspaper with great difficulty and to entertain itself reading BRCINKA, in which, along with photographs of Milosevic and Lilic on the front page, semiliterate articles with significant titles are predominant: "Happy, Peaceful, and Rich Yugoslavia," "Contribution to the Unity Government," "Year Without Inflation," "Sincerely in Favor of Peace," and so forth. On Wednesday, the Independent [Nezavisno] Association of Journalists held its assembly. BORBA was supported by its colleagues in the country, by the International Federation of Journalists, by Nikola Milosevic, Matija Beckovic, Predrag Palavestra, Slobodan Selenic, Vojin Dimitrijevic, a representative of the Independent [Nezavisni] Trade Union of Professional Drivers, a representative of the central headquarters of the Independent [Nezavisni] Trade Unions of Serbia, by top officials of Stari Grad Opstina.... The Assembly decided to stay in session so long as the extraordinary circumstances in which the independent media are operating persist, it called upon all journalists in Serbia to support BORBA, and it supported the demand for removal of Dragutin Brcin and the republic minister of information, Ratomir Vic. Support was also given to the proposal of a group of 36 people's deputies in the Federal Assembly to vote no confidence in Radoje Kontic, federal prime minister, because of violation of the FRY Constitution in the case of BORBA.

On returning from the Assembly of the NUNS, the BORBA people found in their offices Zivojin Simanovic, the receiver in liquidation proceedings, because the previous day the Economic Court had initiated proceedings to liquidate Borba d.d. The certificate of receipt was not signed, and proceedings did not begin, and it is not known when they will. The giro account is blocked, and more than 200 employees of BORBA are legally unemployed.

The Legal and the Real

"All the deadlines for rejecting our registration have passed during these three years, but a precedent has been made thanks to a procedural travesty," says attorney Branislav Tapuskovic, BORBA's legal representative.

Incidentally, BORBA's transformation perhaps was not carried out altogether in keeping with the law, and that is even truer of similar proceedings in the parts of the former Borba establishment: VECERNJE NOVOSTI, the printing plant, the sales network.... No question is being made of their status; however, they are obedient. It is obvious, then, that problems in property law are not behind all this, but exclusively political reasons: The government wants to stifle (or appropriate, it does not matter) the only daily newspaper in the country which does not respect the rules of yes-man journalism. BORBA has annoyed the authorities in Serbia since back in 1986, when Stasa Marinkovic began to turn the organ of the SAWP [Socialist Alliance of Working People] into a real modern and decent daily newspaper. Now, an opportunity has been seized to smother BORBA, but it is worth emphasizing that without the newspaper's property transformation, which has been so much attacked, it would have come to resemble BRCINKA long ago.

In any case, the battle for BORBA in formal law has been lost, but there is no surrender. Rumors are going around that the European Community is ready to set aside the money for BORBA's survival or to start a new newspaper that would be put out by the editorial staff it has had up to now. We have learned unofficially that leaders of New Democracy have timidly offered Slobodan Milosevic a compromise in which Brcin would become director of BORBA, but the editor in chief and collegium would keep their jobs, the editorial staff would continue unchanged, and the editorial police would not change. Milosevic is said to have rejected the "gentleman's agreement" out of hand, remarking that the court would decide this problem.

For the present, there is no "revolutionary euphoria" nor beating of the breast in the BORBA editorial office, but there is no faintheartedness either. Most of the journalists are determined to continue working in their newspaper as they have up to now, in accordance with their professional conscience. "We will try to find a legal way of publishing the newspaper as best we know and are able," Gordana Logar told VREME. It should soon become clear whether the journalists of BORBA will succeed in their intention, and at the moment of this writing (the afternoon of Thursday, 29 December) a meeting of the paper's two trade unions is expected.

It is of interest that the opposition parties, which, incidentally, owe BORBA a great deal of money, have not really done much to help this newspaper in its trouble aside from an initiative in the federal parliament and telegrams of support. As for the "ethnic bloc" which reproaches BORBA for its "lack of patriotism," this little bit of support is more welcome to them than to BORBA, but the behavior of the others is somewhat surprising. The charismatic leader of the opposition, who on occasion has called rallies for "less important issues," has remained aloof—he seems to be busy with the promotion of his book about the dead chetnik. Thus, only the Democratic Party remembered after a week had passed that it might organize a protest gathering. The rally was scheduled for Thursday, 29 December, at 1700 hours. A cocktail party is scheduled after the rally.

FERAL TRIBUNE Chief Editor Interviewed

95BA0094A Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 23 Dec 94 pp 28-29

[Interview with Viktor Ivancic, editor in chief of FERAL TRIBUNE, by Goran Bezic; place and date not given: "A Head Without Borders"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *FERAL TRIBUNE has grown from a university student prank that began 10 years ago to a respectable political weekly that has not neglected its source—keen satire and humor as a faithful mirror of reality. Its locomotive—a trio from the studio "Viva Ludez" (Madness) (Viktor Ivancic, Predrag Lucic, and Boris Dezulovic)—has pulled the train with satirists of a bit different sensibility, such as Miljenko Smoje and Ivo Senjanovic, and a number of good writers who fill its serious inside pages. In contrast to Croatia's nonfigurative trains, which do not run where they like, because of various barricades, FERAL is a train that cannot be stopped by judicial complaints, unfavorable verdicts, taxes on pornography prescribed in the Ministry of Culture, and similar traps. FERAL's lamplighter ["feral" means "lantern"], Viktor Ivancic, its editor in chief, spoke about this.*

[Bezic] Do you expect chivalry from Zlatko Vitez ["Vitez" means "knight"], new Croatian minister of culture, concerning the tax on FERAL?

[Ivancic] I do not know. I actually do not know whether anything depends on the minister of culture, regardless of who he is. The question here is whether that is the decision of the minister of culture at all and whether the present minister will be able to change anything at all. From what we have learned, that decision was made in the president's office or in the president's bedroom. So, the decision came from him, and I assume that he is the only one who can rescind it.

[Bezic] Which is more insulting to FERAL—to be proclaimed a pornographic newspaper or to be put in the same basket with HRVATSKI VJESNIK of Vinkovci?

[Ivancic] I cannot say that we have been insulted in any way. Of course, the fact that the Croatian Government made the same move against FERAL and against HRVATSKI VJESNIK, which not only is a notorious fascist newspaper, but even worse than that—a paper that advocates hatred, and even physical abuse and elimination of certain people—that linkage is a classic example of the hypocrisy which this government has shown for quite a long time now. Speaking in principle, I have nothing against attacks of this kind on HRVATSKI VJESNIK. As a man who thinks of himself as a democrat, I want a paper like HRVATSKI VJESNIK to be banned! So, I think in attacking both FERAL and HRVATSKI VJESNIK the Croatian Government has committed something still worse than if it had done that only to us. HRVATSKI VJESNIK was the pretext for them actually to discredit themselves still further. After all, we should openly say what we are for and what we are not for. In the final analysis, the woman who was the previous culture minister said openly that the tax had been imposed on FERAL because it had continuously attacked the government.

[Bezic] Is it not a fact that a fascist newspaper and antifascist FERAL were put in the same basket in a symbolic way and as an indicator of the government's attitude toward fascism and antifascism?

[Ivancic] This case is a reflection of a state that we can see everywhere—the official stance of the Croatian Government toward poles such as fascism and antifascism is laughable, really comical. You have a situation in which Tudjman first calls for the Assembly to create a committee that will celebrate the 50th anniversary of the victory over fascism, and at the same time he goes to Argentina to visit a man who during World War II signed various decrees and presented medals as the ustasha commander in Dubrovnik. A similar comedy occurred recently in the Assembly concerning the vote on members of that committee, who included people with open totalitarian pretensions. It really is ridiculous to me for Seks to sit on a committee for celebrating the antifascist victory, or Kujundzic. In general, that stance toward fascism and antifascism has taken on the outlines of a farce here. Tudjman is actually interested in the trappings. He is a decorative antifascist. The whole time he is spreading his antifascism through propaganda, behind the scenes he is actually advancing outright fascist claims and giving support to such people.

Don Luka Vincentic, a true antifascist, recently advocated in our pages a boycott on celebration of antifascism and referred to this as a parade of hypocrisy. I agree with him.

[Bezic] Is it because of your character and FERAL's frankness and outspokenness that you encounter provocations in the street, something that smacks of retaliation?

[Ivancic] We do encounter them, of course, but we counted on those things in advance. Incidentally, we have encountered that for quite a few years now, and we are accustomed to it. At the same time, there is also a brighter side of the story—there is the fact that FERAL has made its way, that it has helped to break up the fear of many people who were otherwise silent, but now they are ready to speak out. So, we did not start out with ambitions of performing any mission, but objectively FERAL has played a kind of hygienic role.

[Bezic] You have spent half of FERAL's 10 years working in it, and half in the system. What are the differences?

[Ivancic] There are differences, and I do not know whether they are to the disadvantage or benefit of one or the other system. In the earlier system, we had eight incidents, whether they be complaints, indictments, or trials. Earlier, you could disappear very quietly. We went from courtroom to courtroom and through offices of the investigation department in the police department, and no one knew anything about it. That is, the factor of the public was eliminated. However, I had the feeling the whole time that in that conflict it was only between us and the institution. Today, things mostly become public, so that I can defend myself publicly. However, there is another thing—manipulation of the masses. There is a mass aggression which has been directed against you through the media or in other ways. You are now in danger of encountering various unpleasantnesses. And then you have that strategy of public execution of the unfit. So it is no longer a conflict between you and the institution, but it is your conflict with the institution, which hitches up the masses behind its propaganda.

[Bezic] Over the past 10 years, FERAL has shown an incredible resilience. After every campaign against you and attempt to get you out of the way, first from NEDJELJNA DALMACIJA and then from SLOBODNA, you emerged still stronger, until you became a weekly. Can you conjecture the next campaign against you and, of course, your reaction?

[Ivancic] The problem with us is that we are utterly devoted to this newspaper of ours and to our job, and we do not intend to be stopped just like that because someone farts off to the side. If we stop, that will be our decision. We can, of course, be disabled in various ways, but we also have brains, so that we can be a bit inventive and resourceful. And when we started out with our independent newspaper, we did not have any kind of mission ahead of us, any awareness of a social role that we should perform. We really only wanted to put out the kind of newspaper we wanted. The degree of satisfaction in putting out this newspaper of ours is rather great, and I think that is what keeps us going. That rather than any "awareness" that we must oppose the government. We only want to make FERAL the way it is, and we will oppose those who try to prevent us from making the kind of newspaper we want.

[Bezic] And reality is grateful and offers you quite a bit of material.

[Ivancic] Yes, but that cuts both ways. On the one hand, reality is rather generous in that every dictatorship is generous in offering material for mockery. At the same time, you have the fact of the war and that fact of a human suffering, which is not really the basis for anything that should be funny. However, we have been doing that satire even through this entire period of the war.

[Bezic] How have you, Lucic, and Dezulovic, war reporters on what then was SLOBODNA DALMACIJA, managed to do FERAL not only in terms of the time it takes, but also in view of the bitter taste of war on your pens?

[Ivancic] Well, there have been situations when we were in different places, when, for example, Boro was in Sarajevo, I was isolated on Mljet, and Predrag in Dubrovnik, but still we would somehow do FERAL. One of us would manage to get free and it would get done. The fact is that we have been working for a long time and really have become professionals and do the satirical part of the job with a lot of work. With all this madness around, the need to do something like this exists as a kind of obligation, and we consent to be responsible toward that job. At the same time, however difficult and strenuous it has been for us in these wartime moments, this still has been a safety valve where we could relieve ourselves of the horror we had seen. Perhaps we healed ourselves in that way, perhaps that is the only reason we have remained healthy, because most of these war reporters go to pot, you know....

[Bezic] Was it also a safety valve for the readership?

[Ivancic] When the war intensified, we had pressures both from SLOBODNA and from outside on grounds that it was indecent to do satire in this atmosphere. At the same time, we had the fact that on Wednesday, which was the day FERAL came out, SLOBODNA sold 15,000 copies more than on other days. We stayed firm in our stance that we did not think that we would do anything bad and thereby discredit anyone's suffering if we compelled someone to laugh under these conditions.

[Bezic] What are your roots, the roots of you satirists at FERAL?

[Ivancic] I have not analyzed myself, and to this day I do not consider myself a satirist, nor any of the three of us. We are primarily journalists. What we are doing is journalistic satire, not literary satire. To a certain extent, ha, ha. It is a fact that Split has a tradition of rather brutal humor. There were seven or eight satirical newspapers here before World War II. Certainly, there is some devil in those roots. But we are doing just the opposite. There has hardly been anything focused locally since we started FERAL.

[Bezic] Yes, that is true with respect to the satirical part, but FERAL is not only satire....

[Ivancic] Well, the most essential thing that has happened to us in the last year and a half is not the satirical part, but FERAL's serious part. We made our way earlier with the satirical part, and that was well-known. The fact is that after many, many years something has been created in this city that is called a political weekly, and today it has the second largest circulation in Croatia. The situation today is a bit different from the one when we started with the independent FERAL; occasionally it seems better than a year and a half ago. When FERAL started with the serious part, it played an essential role in a period when nowhere in Croatia was it possible to write normally and when a paper emerged that in spite of all the pressure offered different material and stuck with it. We survived, and others came after us. That makes you feel good, and we are proud of it. It may sound immodest, but FERAL has in that way done Croatia a service.

[Bezic] Do you feel sorry for your fellow editors in chief like Fijacek of VJESNIK, Mikulandra of SLOBODNA, and Marcinko at television who are being removed?

[Ivancic] To be quite sincere, I am not sorry for them at all. I think those are things a man should count on if he has a brain. Anyone who consents to be someone's rag must also be mindful of the wastebasket in which he will end up, or at least know that he will be washed in the washing machine and then placed in a different post. I, of course, do not crave anyone's dismissal, but that is the objective situation.

[Bezic] Could you be replaced?

[Ivancic] I could, if that decision is made by our bodies of self-management. You can look at us, as some people say, as a relic of the past.

[Bezic] FERAL is also open to people from "the other world" such as Pero Lukovic, Filip David, and others. Do you think communication is necessary between people who belong, like it or not, to worlds that are at war, but again speak the same or similar languages, both literally and figuratively?

[Ivancic] That communication must be as intensive as possible. I do not, of course, harbor any kind of political illusions in that regard, nor does anyone need them. I had a great desire to publish people like those you mentioned and many others I admire. And I have nothing particular to say about it: I think that intelligent people have no borders in their heads, and those borders are the only ones that really exist.

Serbia

Farmers Lacking Fuel, Fertilizers, Pesticides

AU2601181595 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Jan 95 p 3

[Article by Bojko V. Kijurina: "Exhausted Agriculture"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade—In the upcoming spring sowing, which should start in about five to six weeks, more than 3.5 million hectares should be planted, but the conditions for this undertaking are still unknown.

The Federal and Republic Governments should establish as soon as possible their objectives regarding agricultural production, especially the primary production, as it is high time to secure at least the most basic conditions for the farmers and farming organizations so that they can decide on what to sow.

In the past years, some important economic measures for spring sowing were decided on as early as September of the previous year. At present, it is essential to decide, above all, on the minimum price of basic agricultural products. The decision on these prices that was adopted in 1994 has formally ceased to be valid as it only referred to the crop and production in 1994. The minimum prices and price relations (parities) are an important indicator for farmers.

Finances are of equal importance for farmers and farming organizations. According to what is known, the first three months will see a restrictive credit-monetary policy, which, if agriculture is not helped, could adversely affect it considering that this is the time when spring sowing is supposed to start.

Agronomists warn that the solutions offered up to now regarding financing agricultural production are less-than-defined, and that agriculture is completely exhausted financially. In addition, the farmers are owed more than 100 million dinars by the food-processing industry and other buyers for goods that they delivered last year. There are however promises that these debts will be settled in March, but this is the time when the sowing is supposed to be well under way.

Agriculture, which has made a significant contribution in the struggle for survival with the last year's rate of increase in production of 6-8 percent, now that the spring sowing is approaching, is lacking fuel, fertilizers, pesticides, and other materials for production, as well as money to buy even the products that are available, high-yield hydrides and different seed types. One should also mention the fact that there is a large gap between agricultural prices, on the one hand, and the prices of production materials, mechanization, and spare parts on the other. This gap has widened in the last two years in particular.

Farmers will certainly sow their fields this spring. The only question is how they are going to do this as there are fears that they might "throw" seeds in the shallowly plowed soil "hoping that something will happen." This is why agricultural production is expected to rise by only 2 percent this year, although the ministers have recently been saying that the growth last year, in comparison with 1993, was 8 percent.

And last year was a drought year!

SRS Not Represented in Novi Sad Municipality

AU2601210695 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 26 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] After a long period of time, Novi Sad has got a new mayor—Djuro Bajic—a candidate of the Socialist Party of Serbia. More than half a year ago, Milorad Mircic, member of the Serbian Radical Party [SRS], was removed from his post. The councilors of the Novi Sad Assembly also elected a new municipal government today.

[Begin Snezana Pjetlovic recording] As of today, there is not a single one of Seselj's Radicals in any of the structures of Novi Sad municipal authorities. At the session of the municipal assembly, councillors elected Socialist Djuro Bajic as mayor with a majority of votes. They also upheld a proposal by Luka Zoric, who is also a member of the Socialist Party of Serbia, to elect the new municipal government, which is of multiparty character although the majority of its members are Socialists. [passage omitted]

Kosovo

PDP Leaders Brief Rugova on Albanian Situation

AU2701072995 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1735 GMT 26 Jan 95

[Telephone report by Shaban Arifaj from Prishtina]

[FBIS Translated Text] Kosovar President Ibrahim Rugova received Iljaz Halimi, chairman of the Tetova-based Popular Democratic Party [PDP], and Xhevat Halili, member of the party presidency, as well as Rahmi Tuda and Abdyl Adeveseli, deputies in the Macedonian [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia] Parliament.

The PDP leadership briefed President Rugova on the current situation, as well as that of the Albanians in Macedonia, and the efforts of the PDP and other institutions to resolve the Albanian people's problems. They discussed the need for cooperation and a better understanding among the Albanian political parties in The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and a common action by the Albanian parties and other institutions.

During the talk, they focused on the need to further the work of the Coordinating Council of the Albanian Political Parties in the former Yugoslavia.

The Kosova Information Center reports that President Rugova also received Prishtina University Rector Dr. Ejup Statovci. On this occasion, Rector Statovci briefed President Rugova on the work at Prishtina University and the efforts that are being made to ensure the best possible education system. President Rugova promised that political institutions and state authorities will support Prishtina University in order to ensure a better organization.

Call For Albania To Oppose Serb 'Colonization'

AU2701104095 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1735 GMT 24 Jan 95

[Mehmet Haziri telephone report from Prishtina]

[FBIS Translated Text] The new Serbian projects to colonize Kosova and the uninterrupted flow of evictions of Albanians in search of ways and means to leave makes the current situation in Kosova very tense. The departure of even one single person from Kosova creates a void, a cold emptiness and is a general concern of Albanians. Reactions are still at the level of individual concerns rather than built up on institutional bases. House units for colonists are being built; houses are taken away from Albanians and are given to others, who are not Albanians; grounds and fertile areas of land are donated; Belgrade officials are issuing decrees and decisions to make Kosova Serbian; and the so-called tourist agencies study geographically appropriate terrains for the eviction of Albanians.

On the other hand, political and state institutions in Kosova still consider this problem to be an unwanted dream. It is perfectly clear that a number of Kosovars and their families have taken the road of emigration for economic reasons and due to the Serbian violence, pursuit, and police threats. However, there is a great number of those, be they individuals or families, who turned their backs on Kosova for unreasonable reasons and revealed a spiritual weakness and lack of sense of sacrifice for their own people and country. Let us leave aside this defect in the consciousness of this grouping of people, and put forward the question: Where are our political parties, associations, and our social, humanitarian, and state institutions, which should maintain a stricter stance against the evacuation and attempts to colonize Kosova?

To defend Kosova with the presence of Albanians there is an obligation of each separate person, but also of all of us together. Thus, the frequent reactions in news conferences or meetings with individuals and certain authorities in the field are not sufficient. However, there arises the need for a discussion and a more serious approach to this problem that has assumed distressing dimensions.

This worry increases more due to the prepared and premeditated campaign of Belgrade officials who, under the circumstances of the accentuated internationalization of the Kosova issue and efforts to establish a pure dialogue between Belgrade and Prishtina, are undertaking rapid steps to bring to Kosova as many Serbs as possible.

However, our attitude to this danger is still silent and cool. It is high time, not to say the last moment, for our political and state institutions in Kosova to hold a joint meeting and set up a common and unique platform to oppose the colonization plans and ignite alarm about this problem at an international level.

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